

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

IN THIS ISSUE: The Advancement of Public Administration, An Editorial
 Society Perspectives: A Commentary on ASPA
 PI & E: A Book Review Feature

SUMMER 1957

VOLUME XVII NUMBER 3

The American Society for Public Administration

TO ADVANCE THE SCIENCE, PROCESSES, AND ART OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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The Advancement of Public Administration, An Editorial . . . York Willbern ii

William W. Parsons 149

Paul Appleby 156

stems Lowell H. Hattery 159

mison and Richard Bigger 164

John M. Wynne 170

Malcolm B. Parsons 173

Phillips Bradley 180

Enemies? . . . Emil J. Sady 189

Norton E. Long 194
eyerson and Edward C. Banfield

E. A. B. 195

200

206

Society Perspectives 221

Published quarterly, in February, May, August, and November, by the American Society for Public Administration, 6042 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois. Entered as second class matter February 7, 1947, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1897, with additional entry at Brattleboro, Vermont.

The contents of *Public Administration Review* are indexed in *Public Affairs Information Service*, *International Index to Periodicals*, and *Index to Legal Periodicals*. They are microfilmed by University Microfilms.

Subscriptions: domestic, \$8 a year; foreign, \$3 a year. No discount to agents.

Single copies: \$2.

Annual membership dues: sustaining members \$15 or more; members \$8; junior members (those 28 years of age or under) \$4; student members \$4. Of the amount paid for membership dues, \$4 is allocated to the subscription to *Public Administration Review*. Address: American Society for Public Administration, 6042 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

The American Society for Public Administration

TO ADVANCE THE SCIENCE, PROCESSES, AND ART OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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Articles

The Personnel Function in Public Management	William W. Parsons	149
The Role of the Budget Division	Paul Appleby	156
Automatic Character Reading for Data Processing Systems	Lowell H. Hattery	159
Metropolitan Coordination in Los Angeles	Judith Norvell Jamison and Richard Bigger	164
Military-Civilian Teamwork	John M. Wynne	170
Performance Budgeting in the Philippines	Malcolm B. Parsons	173
Interlocking Collaboration in Albany	Phillips Bradley	180

Reviews of Books and Documents

Are Anthropologists and Administrators Natural Enemies? . . . Emil J. Sady	189
<i>Anthropology in Administration</i> , by H. G. Barnett	
Discovering the Politically Feasible Norton E. Long	194
<i>Politics, Planning and the Public Interest</i> , by Martin Meyerson and Edward C. Banfield	
P I & E E. A. B.	195
Research Notes	200
Contemporary Topics	206
Society Perspectives	221

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THE ADVANCEMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION has been in existence less than two decades—a comparatively short time. The purpose of the Society from the beginning has been "to advance the science, processes, and art of public administration." This it has tried to do in various ways—through a national meeting, through the organization of chapters, through varied activities and programs at both national and chapter levels, and through the publication of this journal. The Society is now embarked on a considerably expanded program with a larger full-time staff and many new activities. The *Public Administration Review* will be a part of this expanded program, as it has been a part of the Society program from the beginning.

In considerable measure, the expanded Society program is concerned with the development of a sense of professional participation on the part of greater numbers of public employees. A concern with the professionalization of public servants, in a general public administration context, has always been implicit in the activities of the Society. An enlarged program directed toward this goal suggests some observations.

To date, membership in the American Society for Public Administration has come largely from three groups: First, a group of public administrators who, for one reason or another, feel that "public administration," rather than any line or staff function or activity of government, is their primary professional calling. Many of these people have been educated in the comparatively few and small special public administration training programs in the universities. Scant in number compared to the whole body of public employees, they have occupied a role much more important than their numbers would indicate. Second, a group of academic political scientists, interested in the study of public administration. They have been as consistent in their membership as the first group, have encouraged their students to membership and in the use of the *Review*, and have contributed as much as any group

to the establishment and maintenance of chapters and to national and chapter programs. Third, a substantial group of public servants who consider social work, or personnel management, or public finance, or some other specialist function to be their profession, but who have been stimulated in one way or another to associate themselves also with public administration. Membership turnover in this third group has probably been rather higher than in the other two.

There are, presumably, a considerable number of people who would characterize themselves as professional public administrators who are not members of the Society. Among this group are the best prospects for expanded membership in the Society and participation in its activities.

The overwhelming portion of public employees, and perhaps a majority even of the members of the Society, however, do not now think of themselves in the first instance as public administrators. In the American pattern, we have had thus far a great development of professions in the public service but a comparatively small development of the profession of the public service.

Identification and connection with various specialist professions involving particular functions of government are well established. If an identification with general public administration as a profession by large numbers of public employees is to grow, it would seem probable that the profession of public administration or public management will be considered complementary to other primary professional attachments. This development may well occur. We are living in an age of multiple memberships and multiple associations.

Attachment to the profession of public administration has two important focal points to offer persons who are involved in specialist functions. They are indicated by the two words of the phrase "public administration." One is management—the technique and skills involved in manipulating (although this

word will make some unhappy) people, money, and materials effectively. The second focus is the effort to achieve the general public interest. These concerns are central to the profession of public administration, and they can be very helpful to persons ordinarily concerned with a more limited and specialized focus of activity.

The *Review* has had a role in the development of the sense of professional participation that has been growing in public administration in the last two decades. It should have an even larger role in an expanded Society program looking toward further development in that direction. The editors of the *Review* believe that the material published here will be useful to administrators in their work. Members of the Society are encouraged to produce material of high quality that will be of direct help on the firing line of the public service.

To some, the *Review* has been primarily a learned journal, devoted to the publication of the best essays and reports in a particular area of study and to scholarly communication among students of a subject matter. For these readers, particularly, the *Review* should continue to publish the most thoughtful articles and commentaries by students of public administration which the editors can find or identify.

There is and should be no inconsistency in these goals. The best practitioners of administration will profit from the observations of the students, and the best studies will be necessarily related to practice. The purpose of the Society and of the *Review* continues to be what it has always been—"to advance the science, processes, and art of public administration."

YORK WILLBERN

Public Administration Review is intended to promote the exchange of ideas among public officials and students of administration. The various views of public policy and public administration expressed herein are the private opinions of the authors; they do not necessarily reflect the official views of the agencies for which they work or the opinions of the editors of this journal.

in this number

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Judith Norvell Jamison, public administration analyst, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, Los Angeles, is the author of a number of studies on metropolitan Los Angeles.

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Norton E. Long, acting director, Governmental Research Bureau, Michigan State University, will be a visiting professor at Harvard University in 1957-58. He has also been assistant to the administrator, Office of Price Administration, and assistant administrator, National Housing Agency.

The Personnel Function in Public Management

By WILLIAM W. PARSONS

*Administrative Assistant Secretary
United States Treasury Department*

THE topic assigned to me today reminds me of a recent observation of H. Chapman Rose, former Under Secretary of the Treasury. He said that if he had to underline a single conclusion that had been pointed up by his three years in government it would be this:

Everyone recognizes the vital importance of wise over-all policy in our domestic and foreign affairs. But it is not so obvious, and in the nature of things cannot be, how much the success of those policies hinges on imaginative, courageous, skillful handling of the problems raised by those policies all up and down the line. . . .

The point he was making is that an administrator who devotes his entire effort to the development of sound policies and fails to see that capable employees are hired and trained to carry out those policies is not fulfilling his mission. He had arrived at the same conclusion that most of us reach who see the daily workings of government: personnel administration is the responsibility of the line official. It is one of his principal responsibilities. The purpose of the personnel office is to assist line officials at every supervisory level in carrying out this responsibility.

Most of you here today will agree with me on this. Why, then, has the personnel office tended to assume an autonomous role? Why

has the personnel function lagged behind the other staff specialties, such as budget and accounting, in assuming its rightful place on the management team? This, I believe, has been due not necessarily to any fault of the personnel specialist but to several forces that for a number of years have been driving a wedge between him and the line official.

One divisive force has been the original, and not completely discarded, emphasis placed on the police aspects of personnel administration. This approach focused the complete attention of the personnel office on procedures and on the protection of the rights of the individual. To some extent it alienated personnel administration from the operating official and drew the function away from the main stream of management.

Another force that has tended to isolate the personnel function has been the growth of government and the correspondingly increased size of the personnel function. In the small personnel organization with one man, or a few, responsible for all aspects of personnel work there was probably a generalist who knew the operating people intimately and worked closely with them. As the organization grew there was a tendency to build up large, specialized staffs isolated not only from the managers and their problems but often even from each other.

It thus has developed that at the very time that the personnel office is seeking to shed its negative, police aspects and to offer construc-

NOTE: This article was a paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Public Personnel Association, October 12, 1956.

tive services to management, its staff may find that it has grown so far apart from the real operating problems that it is not sure what services are most needed. It may find, furthermore, a very wary, unenthusiastic market for any type of services at all.

All of us are familiar with the common signs of inadequate integration of the personnel function with general management. Lack of integration is apparent when line officials fail to consult personnel people in management decisions, when they fail to make proper use of personnel staff, when they fail to pay more than lip service to personnel programs, when they tend to make personnel and other staff services the target of budget reductions, and, in general, when they exhibit an attitude of contempt toward the "expert" and his approach.

Now in this environment one course of action for personnel people is to forge cheerfully ahead, installing fashionable systems and prescribing patent-medicine remedies—and letting the anguished screams of management echo behind. A more sensible course is to move slowly, to take a careful look at the organization of the personnel function—at its type of staff, at their attitudes, to reestablish long-lost links with operating officials, and to find out what their actual problems are. This course may involve a lengthy period of reorientation and education, both of the personnel staff and of line management, in the use of personnel services.

Where, then, do we begin, and how do we go about the business of achieving more complete integration?

Responsibility

THE first thing we must do is to make sure that responsibility for personnel management is in fact as well as in form fixed in line officials from the chief executive on down. Woodrow Wilson has said that "there is no danger in power, if only it be not irresponsible."¹ If management is made responsible for administering the merit system and held accountable, the individual, in my opinion, has nothing to fear in such a system.

This view has been recognized at the state

¹"The Study of Administration." Published in the *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1887; reprinted in the *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1941.

and local level where there is clearly a trend toward more subordination of the personnel agency to the chief executive.² At the federal level a tie has been established between the President and the United States Civil Service Commission by vesting the chairman with responsibility for the administrative functions of the commission and then giving him a dual role, in the White House, as part of the President's staff. He is also invited to attend Cabinet meetings.

The close relationship of the commission chairman to the White House and to Cabinet officials has been extremely effective in getting top-level support for, and interest in, personnel programs. The entire channel of communications on important personnel matters has undergone change. Formerly a communication in all probability would go from the chairman of the commission to the department head, departmental personnel director, bureau personnel officer, and subordinate personnel units. Now important policy statements, as in the area of training, are more likely to be sent from the President to the department head, and then, at least in the Treasury, to the bureau head, regional heads, and so on, down the line chain of command. I need not comment on the relative effectiveness of the two channels.

Decentralization

THIS brings me to my second, and very important, point. In large organizations, we must decentralize the personnel operation. For this point, I can even quote divine approval. I am sure that most of you Bible students are familiar with the passage in the Old Testament, Exodus, Chapter 18, where Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, found Moses sitting all day with a long stream of people waiting to see him. He asked Moses what he was doing, and Moses replied that the people were bringing their controversies to him and he was judging them.

And Moses' father in law said unto him, The thing that thou doest is not good.

Thou wilt surely wear away, both thou, and this people that is with thee: for this thing is too heavy for thee. . . .

²Talk by O. Glenn Stahl before the Civil Service Assembly, Cincinnati, Ohio, October 24, 1955.

PERSONNEL FUNCTION IN PUBLIC MANAGEMENT 151

. . . I will give thee counsel. . . .
. . . thou shalt teach them ordinances and laws
. . . and the work that they must do.

Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people able men . . . and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens.

And let them judge the people at all seasons: and . . . every great matter they shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they shall judge: so shall it be easier for thyself, and they shall bear the burden with thee.

So Moses hearkened to the voice of his father in law, and did all that he had said.

Several principles of administration are illustrated here: the need for careful selection of leaders or administrators, the need for sound training, the need for central controls, and, finally, the need for delegation of authority. It is to the delegation of authority—the decentralization of operations—that I would like to address the major portion of my remarks this morning.

The decentralization of personnel operations has many benefits in improving decision-making, in preventing bottlenecks, in improving morale, and in promoting general efficiency. One of its chief values, however, is that it brings the personnel function closer to line management. As long as central personnel bodies or offices at any level continue to make the personnel decisions it is unlikely that line officials will feel responsible for, or take any great interest in, the personnel function.

A number of states have made noteworthy strides toward decentralization. I would like to direct your attention, however, to the federal government, which, because of its size, has had the most urgent need for a decentralized system of personnel administration.

More than fifty years ago the Civil Service Commission established regional offices and gave them certain authorities to deal directly with field agencies on personnel problems. These authorities were greatly extended just before the beginning of World War II and have been further strengthened more recently. The eleven regional directors now have authority to deal on the spot in the field with nearly all personnel problems.

In recent years, further progress has been made with the delegation by the commission of authority to the executive agencies for most personnel operations. I believe that the agencies at present have an excellent working relationship with the commission, and all the authority they need to conduct sound personnel programs.

Let me turn now from the central personnel body to the decentralization of the personnel function in a large operating agency, using the Treasury Department for illustration. Prior to 1947 all personnel actions taken anywhere in the far-flung Treasury came to the department in Washington for approval. At one time the entire central section of the ground floor of the Treasury building, which is now occupied by our cafeteria, was devoted to the housing of the personnel files and service records for Treasury employees, who then numbered well over 100,000 civilians. Each time an employee was hired, fired, reassigned, given a periodic pay increase, or had any change whatsoever in status or position, the action had to be cleared all the way to the top of the department, and in some cases through the commission. Thirteen copies were made of each personnel action. In 1946, the Treasury's Division of Personnel handled more than 200,000 of these actions; it replied to several hundred inquiries a day about Treasury employees.

Here is what happened if a field office wanted to promote a grade 2 clerk to grade 3. The recommendation was passed through channels to bureau headquarters and then to the Treasury Department. At the departmental level, this and other personnel actions were "journalized." This meant that the papers were grouped together according to type—promotions, etc.—and then a piece of paper was affixed to the top saying, "I approve the actions herein," or words to that effect. My predecessor signed this top piece of paper, indicating approval. Then copies of the actions passed on back down through the same channels.

You can imagine the delays and frustrations of such a system from the standpoint of an operating official. It often took weeks to complete a personnel action which now can be taken in a day if necessary. Far from feeling

any responsibility for personnel actions, it was suspected that officials at lower levels sometimes passed along recommendations which they knew would be disapproved. If an employee insisted on a grade change, why be unpopular and say "No." Let someone else up the line disapprove it.

Under this system a lot of mistakes were made and caught at one place or another in the chain—often at the departmental level. These to me are not valid arguments for centralization. They simply point up the fact that responsibility was not properly fixed at lower levels and that the field organizations lacked the benefit of staff assistance on their personnel problems.

When the Treasury's personnel functions were decentralized, the staff of eighty in our central personnel office was cut to eight professional and six clerical and stenographic employees. With minor exceptions, the bureaus were given full responsibility for their personnel programs. The largest of the bureaus, the Internal Revenue Service, with over 50,000 employees, has in turn decentralized its personnel operations to field offices. The degree of decentralization in the other bureaus has depended to some extent on the size of the field offices and whether they are able to support an administrative staff.

How is this decentralized personnel operation working? It is working just the way we had hoped it would. Personnel staff, at the commission, departmental, and bureau levels, relieved of the case-by-case burden of processing papers, are free to turn their attention from minutiae to the important job of providing leadership to the personnel program. That this is being done is evidenced by the current emphasis on such positive phases of personnel administration as employee development, incentive awards, and more vigorous recruitment on the college campuses.

Now that the rigidities and bottlenecks of the centralized system have been removed, there has been a marked reduction in misunderstandings and a marked improvement in relations between the personnel staff and the operating official. The shift in emphasis from a control to a service function also has contributed to improved relations.

In addition, by attaching personnel staff at

lower levels in the organization we have created the same advantageous situation that we find in small organizations. We are in a position to use personnel generalists and to benefit from their close relationship to line officials.

Furthermore, we have found our faith in lower echelons of management to be more than justified. Treasury field officials, now that they have full authority, are exercising it judiciously and are welcoming staff aid.

Overspecialization

WHAT are other concrete steps that can be taken to narrow the gap between the personnel function and line management. High on the list and underlined I would put, *reverse the trend toward narrow specialization within the personnel function*. Overspecialization has a splintering rather than a unifying effect. It works against a well-coordinated personnel program able to deal effectively with line managers and their problems.

Although the value of personnel generalists and of staff generalists has been much discussed and is seldom disputed, a high degree of compartmentalization still continues. Representatives of the personnel office, far from being able to take a broad view of the personnel function in relation to other problems of management, often cannot even discuss the overall personnel point of view with line managers. I asked an operating official not long ago whether anyone from the personnel staff had been brought in on discussions that led to an important management decision. He said, "No. We couldn't have brought in one person. We would have had to bring in at least six." He wasn't exaggerating very much.

One answer to this problem has been a trend toward the so-called "generalist" type of organization of the personnel function. This organizational structure permits one group of persons to perform all personnel services for a particular segment of the organization or for particular occupational groups. It has the advantage of providing that personnel generalists deal with the line people.

Of course, if the personnel operation is decentralized and the size of central staffs kept small, the same result is achieved in a dif-

ferent way. Under a decentralized system, central staffs, since they concern themselves only with planning and coordination and not with operating personnel problems, may continue to be organized on the basis of technical specialties.

Even central staffs, however, should have more generalists than specialists, and there should be no artificial barriers to the easy transfer of staff from one type of work to another. I am not suggesting that we should keep the whole personnel staff rotating like whirling dervishes. There will always be people who prefer to remain in one staff specialty. I simply mean that if a person wants to pick up a knowledge of all phases of personnel operations, or of other staff work for that matter, we should have a system that permits him to do so with ease and without the need for any elaborate clearances or procedures. I think the general abilities, the aptitudes, the analytical, fact-finding approach, and, above all, the attitudes that have made the potential generalist successful in one part of the personnel office can be transferred with equal success to another part.

We talk a lot about developing staff generalists, but often we drive people to specialize because we make it so hard for a generalist to get another staff job. If a person has demonstrated competence in general administrative work, I think we should be willing to let him take a crack at any staff job. It is surprising, almost disconcerting, to see how fast the technical knowledge can be picked up.

Coordination

TO TURN again to the long, hard look we are taking at the internal organization of the personnel function, let me touch briefly on the almost-worn-out but still-not-solved problem of coordination.

Often the personnel office does not carry its efforts to coordinate with management far enough down the line. Let me illustrate what I mean. Suppose that a new training policy is handed down from the President, gets to the bureau level, and the bureau personnel office is given the job of implementing it. The personnel staff works out the new instructions, prepares a circular, sells it to the bureau head,

and he signs it. This is not coordination with management. The policy should be worked out in cooperation with line officials at middle levels and tried out on a few first-line supervisors besides. Then it should be presented to the bureau head as a cooperative effort of line and staff.

If the personnel function is to be integrated with line management, it must first be co-ordinated within itself as well as coordinated with the other staff services. There is no quicker way to lose the confidence of a line official than for one staff specialist to tell him one thing while another tells him the opposite. The personnel office convinces him that he should spend more money on training. The budget office gives him a going-over for the added expenditure. That is the sort of thing I mean. Or worse still, one part of the personnel office sells an operating official on the need to develop his staff while another part turns down his request to transfer a man because of the lack of an experience qualification.

Basically, I think staff coordination depends more on a state of mind than on mechanical devices. Individual staff members, through training or other methods, must be imbued with their personal responsibility for coordinating their work with the work of others. The principal value of coordinating techniques—such as the team approach to studies, coordinating committees, staff meetings, and the like—is that they acquaint the various staff specialties with one another's interests, they instill the spirit of cooperation, and they pave the way for the type of informal, everyday coordination that is so vital to the success of staff efforts.

Training

ANOTHER basic way in which the personnel function can be brought closer to management is through the training process, and I use the word "training" in its broadest sense. This need has been recognized in the new series of training conferences being held by the United States Civil Service Commission for key personnel executives in federal agencies. Heavy emphasis is being placed on broadening and deepening an understanding of the

relationship of personnel management and general management.

The personnel staff must be trained to focus its attention on line management. The staff should think not in terms of "what's new in personnel and how can I get our people to buy it," but in terms of "what are our problems and how can I help the line managers to solve them." Personnel specialists have been warned against becoming "management wall-flowers".³ I agree that they should get into the act as actively as possible, but let's just be sure that they dance as partners of management.

From the other point of view, all levels of management should be trained in their personnel responsibilities. First-line supervisors should be instructed in the selection, development, and evaluation of their employees. Higher levels of supervision also should be given an understanding of their personnel responsibilities and of the use of the personnel staff. Otherwise a supervisor may return from his training class, fired with enthusiasm for modern personnel practices, only to find his immediate supervisor disregarding everything he has learned.

Interdepartmental Personnel Councils

I MIGHT touch briefly on two other ways in which the personnel function may be integrated with line management.

A number of states, the federal government, and at least one major city—New York—have established interdepartmental personnel councils to act as a link between the central personnel body and the operating departments. These councils give the departments an opportunity to bring their problems to the attention of the central service body and to participate in discussions of personnel policy. This is another situation, however, in which the departmental personnel officer must be close enough to the management of his own agency to know its problems and to reflect its attitudes.

³ George C. S. Benson, "The Personnel Man and the Management Team," 15 *Public Personnel Review* 3 (January, 1954).

Appraisal System

AT THE federal level, the Civil Service Commission uses its appraisal or inspection system as a device to keep in close touch with line management and to bring personnel problems to the attention of line officials. Recently the scope of the inspections has been broadened from a compliance check to an appraisal of the quality and general effectiveness of the personnel program in the agency. In John Macy's words, ". . . inspectors are instructed to measure all personnel practices against this standard: Does the personnel program help the agency (not the personnel office, but the agency) to do a better job. The inspection extends far beyond the confines of the personnel office itself. Through discussions with employees and supervisors the contribution of the personnel program to the agency's total program is assessed."⁴ In a decentralized personnel system, inspections also can be used at the departmental level to achieve the same results.

Conclusion

TO SUM up my remarks, I have emphasized that personnel management is not an end in itself. It is an integral part of general management. I have spoken of the need to take inventory of the present organization and operation of the personnel function, of the desirability of fixing responsibility for personnel management in the line official, and of the merits of decentralizing personnel operations. I have touched briefly on the need to coordinate the personnel function within itself and with other staff specialties, and on the benefits of appraisal systems, training, and interdepartmental councils in focusing attention on line problems. If I have appeared critical of the personnel function at times, I should add that what I have said may be applied with equal validity to many other staff functions, and that I am a staff man myself. So any criticism is all in the family.

If one central philosophy has been apparent from my remarks, it is this: We must have faith in human potentials. The isolation, cen-

⁴ Talk by John W. Macy, Jr., before Eastern Regional Conference of Civil Service Assembly, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 11, 1956.

tralization, overspecialization of the personnel function all imply a lack of this trust. We must be willing to take a chance. We won't be sorry often enough to matter.

I have not commented except in passing on the important matter of attitude. As long as the personnel specialist regards the line manager as a backward child and the line manager thinks of the personnel specialist as a meddlesome daydreamer, you have a problem. By the means described, or by any other means, it is essential that each develop an understanding of the other's role and objectives.

Efforts to integrate personnel and management should not be a one-way struggle by the personnel staff alone. Although the first steps of properly organizing the personnel function and of improving staff work must come from the personnel office, the line manager must learn how to use and evaluate the personnel staff. Some of the initiative should, and will, come from him if the proper groundwork is laid.

The personnel staff, and the other staff specialties as well, should be thoroughly inculcated with their service and advisory role in relation to line management. Robert Sampson, in his excellent book, *The Staff Role in Management*,⁵ has discussed this subject at length. As he points out, staff people should

"view their work as supporting, building, and strengthening management at every level." The measure of their accomplishment should be the success of the organization as a whole, not the achievements or growth of the staff functions.

It takes a very special breed to be a successful personnel man. He must be able to inspire, to be a leader, and yet be willing to be cast in a service role. He must be aggressive in promoting sound personnel practices, and yet himself remain anonymous. He must serve the needs and aspirations of the employees, and of management. He must know personnel techniques, but be able to look beyond them. He must, above all others in the organization, have a real understanding of human nature and human motivations. He must have the vision to look to the future—to relate scientific and medical progress to the needs of the individual and the organization. He must be specialist, generalist, sociologist, psychologist, and perhaps a few other things besides.

Surely this is a great deal to expect of anyone. Yet I have no doubt whatsoever that the personnel profession can rise to such a challenge. The zeal, enthusiasm, and unselfish devotion of the personnel man is, in my opinion, unmatched among the staff specialties. I am sure he will measure up to his new and more vital role as an integral part of management.

⁵ Harper & Brothers, 1955.

The Significance of Comparative Studies

The movement of which comparative studies are a vital part has been described (and decried) as behaviorism, and the quest for a universal science. Certainly it represents an advance beyond the gadgetry on one hand and the "fundamental principles" on the other which for a time characterized American public administration. And it does transcend reformistic tinkering. If science is essentially a matter of method, then a major value of comparative administration lies in its contribution to an increasingly scientific approach. This is, of course, not a one-way street. Contemporary and projected approaches to comparative studies also derive part of their *raison d'être* from the recent methodological developments of the social sciences. The basic point remains: the greatest contribution of the growing concern with comparative studies promises to be their impact upon their subject-matter generally, in terms of its breadth, its depth, and its utility.

—William J. Siffin, "Toward the Comparative Study of Public Administration," in William J. Siffin, ed., *Toward the Comparative Study of Public Administration* (Department of Government, Indiana University, 1957), p. 16.

The Role of the Budget Division

By PAUL APPLEBY

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MOST of the questions that enter into a decision to make a particular expenditure, whether a new car for the family or a building for the state, involve value questions. There are few problems for which there are single right answers clearly and simply revealed by technical analysis. The broader the jurisdiction—the larger the "family"—the more complicated the values involved.

Democratic government is the broadest of all possible jurisdictions, involving and recognizing more different and various values. Every individual in the jurisdiction would like to have *his* values dominant: the cotton grower, the steel worker, the window washer, the medical doctor, the lawyer, the economist. Every functional unit concentrates its value judgments around its function: all spare money ought to go to health, or to conservation, or to labor, or to education. All sensible people should take *our* judgment of what is good policy, say the economists, the lawyers, the doctors, the budgeteers, the personnel people.

It should be plain that all of these drives are unconsciously authoritarian—antidemocratic. It should be plain that *everybody* will be *better* satisfied when *no one* is *fully* satisfied—when the final judgment is a general judgment that defers to all judgments, yields to none—including the individual judgment of the final decision-maker. This general judg-

ment is secured by the institutional interaction of *functions, facts, forces, and folk* in the discipline of a directing leadership that is popularly responsible, popularly chosen, and can be popularly removed.

The Budget Function

THE budgeting function, like any other particular one, is a specialized way of looking at problems in decision-making. Any specialized way is parochial, in that it is a million—or innumerable—ways of *not* looking at the problems. But the budgeting function is not only valid technically; it represents one set of important values. Fiscal sense and fiscal coordination are certainly values. The budgeting organization is designed to give representation in institutional interaction and decision-making to this set of values.

In one way, there is no point in denying, the budget function is preponderantly negative. It is on the whole rather strongly against program and expenditure expansion. This approach is desirable, because the programmatic agencies and most of the potent pressure groups are so expansive that there will be little danger that the undeniable values they represent will be overlooked or smothered by budgeteers.

On the other hand, a budget organization that is always and wholly negative is something less than ideal. There are ways to save money by spending more. There are ways of getting more than 125 per cent of present values by spending 125 per cent of present funds, and the budgeteers should help disclose such

NOTE: This article consists of notes for a talk at an in-service training session for New York State budget examiners, September 4, 1956.

possibilities. Nor should budget personnel be so blind to values other than their own that they do not see imaginatively and sympathetically the public-service values behind the figures they deal in.

In the end, however, it is well for budget people to recognize that they represent only one approach to problems which deserve a good many approaches. This need appears when their judgments have been modified or overridden. Public wisdom requires not accepting budget thinking fully, just as it requires not accepting fully the thinking of the programmatic departments.

The primary responsibility and the primary capacity of budgeteers is to develop a sound *budget* point of view. We should not try to outguess the Governor or the two legislative bodies. To try to do that would impair the performance of our own proper function and would not produce very good guesses of what the political heads of government would actually want to do. It is our role to formulate sound budgetary positions, to present them as persuasively as we can, and then finally to make decisions reached at higher levels as fiscally manageable in practice as we possibly can.

On the political front we cannot and should not see any large proportion of the various pressure groups. The political pressures should come to us a bit indirectly, from the Governor's office and from the various departments. When heads of particular departments press us to approve a certain appropriation they *represent* the pressures on them for services. The degree of insistence with which a department presses some action on us reflects the intensity of its conviction that this concession is necessary to its public constituency, modified by the department's judgment about what is wise and effective. Dealing with many departments, we are in the midst of a highly-charged web of political currents, and yet remote from the powerhouses which generate those currents. That is as it should be. It is for the Governor's office and for the Legislature on the one side and the departments on the other, to have this popular, citizen involvement. We cannot perform their functions well, and if we were to try to do that we would not perform our own function well.

Developing a General Judgment

THE discipline of democracy requires general judgment, not special judgment, and a general judgment responsive to many diverse attitudes, not just a few attitudes and interests. Any judgment so developed is a "political" judgment in the sense that it involves a reconciliation of and deference to many different facts, functions, forces, and folk. Very little of all this is political in the sense of being partisan. Both principal parties in our country are quite constantly in agreement 90 per cent or more of the way; the executive and legislative branches of a state or a national government are quite constantly in agreement 90 per cent or more of the way. In all these cases agreement is found in terms of the enveloping social context, not merely in the minds of the individuals concerned, and the agreement constitutes the fruition of a political process which is yet not partisan. The partisan residuum which emerges out of all this represents in mass perhaps only 1 or 2 per cent of all the business being handled. We don't have to worry about that.

The Budget Division makes quite a lot of policy. But we make it in an environment of forces that restrict and control us in the first instance. (We do pay a good deal of attention to what the departments want, even if they find this hard to believe.) We make policy tentatively, too, always being subject to modification and reversal "upstairs" or by the Legislature, or later on by popular clamor. All this discipline restrains us, of course, but for the most part the restraint just prevents us from making fools of ourselves; we still have enough room for judgment to tax all our capacity and to keep us troubled. The discipline also gives us confidence. We have had experience with it, and we have found that most of our decisions stand up because we have learned how to make sensible decisions. And because we can be overruled later, we are more ready to decide and act. If our decisions really were not subject to later correction, any sensitive and intelligent person would be paralyzed by indecision.

So—by leaving more ultimate responsibilities upstairs, and taking those decisions with less than a broken heart after we have had our

day in court, we go ahead with considerable confidence to do our special job. It is a good job, and an important one, even though far from being all-important. For my money, anyone who wants an all-important job is a candidate for the care of the Mental Hygiene Department.

Similarly, I might say that anyone in the Budget Division who does not like to participate in the development of institutional wisdom, as apart from individual wisdom, belongs in some other job.

Pointing ultimately to what is socially wise, our ultimate reliance is not on ourselves but on society. Preliminary to the attainment of social wisdom we must first seek the highest wisdom of our own small institution—the Budget Division. What we produce must partake of that wisdom which is the wisdom of "the government"; this institutional wisdom is pursued further at the levels of the Governor's office and the Legislature. Our special responsibility begins with the need to develop the best possible Budget Division judgment.

Much of the interaction that leads to institutional wisdom should take place within this division. I have not felt disposed to change, as yet at least, the internal structure that existed when I came to the division. I do feel that the internal interaction between our units is less frequent and extensive than it ought to be. There is sense in dividing up the estimates review units. Obviously no single examiner can become well acquainted with all of the departments and agencies, and groups of examiners must be formed to deal with groups of agencies. But the concerns of any groups, however formed, do go beyond their formal boundaries. This is obvious, of course, in the case of all the agencies that have construction programs; in those instances the units headed by Allan and Corrigan can help make sense only by working with the unit headed by Tiesler. It seems not equally obvious, as it should be, that it makes as much sense to have one unit specially concerned with administrative structures and procedures for the whole government as it does to have one unit specially concerned with all construction. The examining units seem to me to call too little upon the management unit, and thus to deprive themselves of some grist for their institutional-wis-

dom product. Similarly, I think more use can be made of the fiscal unit.

Dividing the division into units obviously leaves the overriding problem of relating all of the units to each other, and relating all of the parts of the budget to a budgetary plan and a financial plan. The work of the division as a whole can begin to come into focus only through the use of some such unit as the one we call the fiscal unit.

Doing the best specialized job we can do involves utilizing well and fully all of our own resources. Then, and only then, do we put the Governor and the Legislature in a position to use our function to the best advantage.

Total Character of the Budget

WHILE every particular figure in the budget poses a problem or problems, there are ways in which the sum total of the budget and its principal general aspects have an overriding importance. And there are elements of manageability involving tens of millions of dollars every year, wholly apart from the work of the examining units. These are, on the whole, of outstanding interest to the Governor and the Legislature, and serious in popular consequences.

Let me list just a few of the items which contribute so much to the sum-total character of the budget: two or three hundred legislative bills, involving changes in revenues or in expenditures apart from agency budget requests; decisions on when to sell bonds; management of debt service; utilization of special funds or special revenues; decisions on new bond issues or new tax proposals; revenue estimating; special calculations of expenditures and expenditure projections; management of advances that are to be repaid; making various special and over-all formulations which give form and meaning to the budget in terms of programs, functions, geographical areas, or what not.

Nowhere else, I am sure, than in the Front Office is it so clear that it takes the entire Budget Division to do what the Budget Division has to do. Expressing it personally, I would be greatly damaged in my responsibilities if I were to lose any single unit. So would you.

Automatic Character Reading For Data Processing Systems

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STUDENTS of administration, whether practicing or academic, have an obligation to evaluate the trends of technology and their relations to organization and management. The administrative analysts, the planners, and the executives should attempt to inform themselves about current developments and outlook in technology which are likely to affect their particular universe of concern.

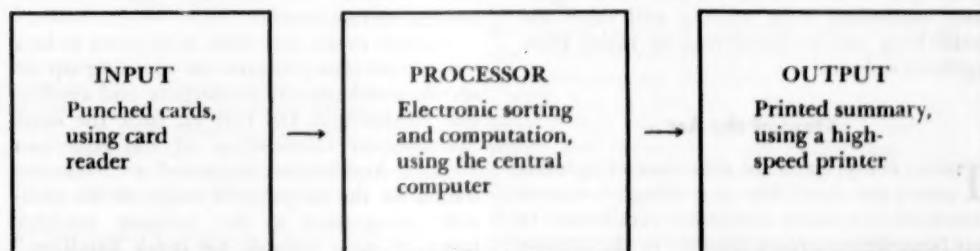
The effects of technological change appear in every process of administration. They affect the nature of the executive job, patterns of centralization-decentralization, the setting of standards, and administrative planning—long range, medium range, and even short range.

This paper is written to present for adminis-

tration which is already taking place with the introduction of electronic computers for processing accounting and statistical information with fantastic speed and accuracy.

Any data system can be symbolized with three components: input, processor, and output. This symbolism is not limited to a machine system. For example, handwritten invoices (INPUT) can be summarized by a clerk (PROCESSOR) in a hand operation into a report (OUTPUT) for combination with other accounting data or for direct use by management.

An automatic system using equipment such as an IBM 650 electronic computer may involve the following components:



trators and others a progress report on technological developments in automatic character scanning or reading, a technology which promises to give a new dimension to the revo-

lution which is already taking place with the introduction of electronic computers for processing accounting and statistical information with fantastic speed and accuracy.

Reliability is near perfect. *Computation* is generally much cheaper than the equivalent hand process. On the other hand, *input* preparation, technique, and equipment have not been so fully developed.

For example, a bank official stated recently in evaluating the impact of automation on banking:

If banks are to save money as a result of adopting electronic data processing equipment, a significant savings must be derived in the pre-computer area where checks and other entries are processed, preparatory to entering information into the computer. In fact, it is quite possible that the major cost savings possibilities are in the paper handling area, and that many banks may find that significant savings can be realized by numbering accounts, imprinting their checks with magnetic ink account numbers, and using the character recognition sorters which are now well on their way toward realization.¹

Input methods now consist of the use of several alternative intermediate media to move information from its origin to processing. Most generally used are punched cards, punched tape, magnetic tape, and keyboard. Each of these media has its own advantages and disadvantages. In addition, all have the disadvantage of serving as an intermediate, generally nonproductive step which costs time, materials, and accuracy. Obviously, much would be gained were it possible to communicate directly and automatically from original documents to a processor.

We are nearing the practical realization of this goal. It has tremendous potential for improving mass data handling and reducing its cost. Automatic data reading will force the rethinking and reengineering of many management systems.

State of the Art

THERE is no significant difference of opinion about the feasibility of reading characters automatically under controlled conditions. It has been demonstrated feasible in the labora-

¹ Ford Steele, "Automation and Electronic Data Processing in Banking," Paper presented at the Eighth Northern Regional Convention, National Association of Bank Auditors and Comptrollers at Cleveland, Ohio, May 20, 1957.

tories. Little doubt is heard that the science of character recognition will eventually convert into a practical tool for office use. There is much difference of opinion, however, as to when character readers will be generally available, economical, and useful.² The time lag depends upon several factors:

1. Intensity of research.
2. Development of equipment sufficiently low in price.
3. Development of feasible controls over the quality of the original characters.
4. Ironing out the bugs of how mutilated documents and characters are treated in a system.
5. Redesign of data processing equipment systems and procedural systems to incorporate the character reading component.

The conservatives in scanning point out precedents such as television. In the case of television, laboratory models were in successful operation many years before television was marketed. And only now, twenty-five years after laboratory models, is television equipment incorporated effectively into management systems for government, business, and industry.

Promising research in character reading was under way in the laboratories of the International Business Machines Corporation in the early 1930's, but progress was interrupted by World War II. Only in the last ten years has research in this field been pursued vigorously.

There are several elements of pressure for progress in character reading which give basis for optimism for its early maturity. Among these are the increasingly crushing burden of paper work and the voracious appetite of data processing machinery.

A single event, moreover, may prove to be a most important pressure for speeding up research, development, production, and application in this field. On July 21, 1956, the Bank Management Commission of the American Bankers Association "approved a recommendation for the adoption of magnetic ink character recognition as the common machine language most suitable for check handling."

² Optical character readers, manufactured by the Intelligent Machines Research Corporation, are in successful operation for the Ohio Bell Telephone Company, the Standard Oil Company of California, and the *Reader's Digest*.

The commission referred to the report of their Technical Subcommittee on Mechanization of Check Handling as "one of the most important banking developments of recent years."³ The recommendation of the ABA Bank Management Commission was reported to member banks and eight equipment manufacturers. The banking industry of England has recently adopted a similar recommendation for commercial paper in British banks.⁴

Out of the action of the American Bankers Association and other pressures has come an increased activity toward solving the remaining problems of effective means for reading characters automatically. The International Business Machines Corporation is active in the development of equipments for the reading both of printed ink characters (optical scanning) and of magnetic ink characters (magnetic character scanning). The General Electric Company has several research projects in both optical and magnetic scanning and has acquired the patent, production, and marketing rights for magnetic ink character recognition developed by the Stanford Research Institute. General Electric reported recently that its Computer Department "is now in the early stages of production of magnetic character reader and paper handling equipment. This automated equipment reads information in the form of true Arabic characters printed with magnetic ink."⁵ Advantages of the new equipment are cited as: "Greater accuracy . . . wider tolerances . . . easier verification . . . minimized cost . . . no radical check format changes . . . relative invulnerability of encoded data to obliteration."⁶

Engineers of the Stanford Research Institute

³ American Bankers Association, *Magnetic Ink Character Recognition: The Common Machine Language for Check Handling*, Bank Management Publication 158 on Automation of Bank Operating Procedure (American Bankers Association, 1956), p. 7.

⁴ J. W. Cohn, "Nationwide Automation Setup Planned by British Banks," *Electronic News*, March 4, 1957, p. 20.

⁵ Advertisement in *American Banker*, January 23, 1957, cited because it is the only public statement by the General Electric Company on the subject. However, for additional background the writer has consulted directly with officials of the Computer Department, General Electric Company, Phoenix, Arizona, and technicians of the Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, California.

report that reading can be accomplished at rates exceeding 5,000 characters per second and that documents have been handled at rates up to 50 per second.⁶

Some of the knottiest problems of developing an automatic reading system are details which might seem to be minor. For example, where on the check, in the magnetic ink system, should the numbers representing the bank's transit number, the account number, and amount be printed? It is important to establish uniform practice and to determine such practice in advance of production of reading machines. The approach and solution to this problem is presented in some detail as reported by the ABA for its comparative significance for other organizations and circumstances.

. . . A majority of the machine manufacturers showed a preference for coding along the bottom edge of the checks rather than the top edge and advanced as reasons that this resulted in fewer mutilations during processing, better economy in equipment and operation, and greater customer acceptance. The one difficulty was in finding a bottom-edge coding system that would be compatible with punch card checks. It was further advanced that about 14 per cent of the checks now handled by banks are of the punch card type, and it was feared that the bottom row of holes on a punch card check would negate the magnetic ink characters if the two were located in the same area.

In seeking a solution to this problem, the technical committee conducted intensive studies of punch card check activity in three cities. The results showed that the majority of punch card checks do not contain more than 22 columns of punching and that the exceptions are concentrated in relatively few accounts. On the basis of these findings, it appeared possible to confine punching on punch card checks to one area and encoding with magnetic ink characters to another.

With this in view, the committee has recommended that "for all checks, except 80-column punch card checks, both pre-printing and post-printing should be confined to a band $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch wide, located $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch from the bottom edge" and that "magnetic ink characters pre-printed on 80-column punch cards be positioned parallel and adjacent to the bottom edge, and below the 9's

⁶ K. R. Eldredge, F. J. Kamphoefner, and P. H. Wendt, *Automatic Input for Business Data Processing Systems* (Menlo Park, California: Division of Engineering Research, Stanford Research Institute, October 30, 1956), p. 1.

punched hole position. Post-printing for these checks should be at the same location designated for other types of checks.⁷

Changes in equipment developments are coming so rapidly that a summary is soon obsolete. Therefore the promising techniques and developments are presented below without the detail, which changes frequently. It is also beyond the scope of this paper to present the technology of character reading. For the technology, the reader is referred to engineering and scientific journals.

Character Scanning Methods

CHARACTER scanning devices are generally limited to two principal methods: "optical" scanning, which uses photo-electric cells to read regular printers ink and can also read magnetic ink, and "magnetic ink" scanning, which uses magnetic reading heads that are influenced by a special ink containing iron oxides. It should be noted that both methods may be used for reading codes such as bars or dots to represent characters. In fact, such codes are now in use in optical, magnetic ink, and fluorescent ink scanning. However, it is obvious that the ability to read printed characters has much more utility, except in limited cases.

For each method there are advantages and disadvantages. Both magnetic ink and printers ink scanning have proved to be highly reliable under controlled laboratory conditions. The problems arise in the degradations of the copy which come from imperfect printing and from the obliteration and destruction which take place in paper handling. Magnetic ink has the advantage of being read successfully through grease smudges, scotch tape, overprints, and marks.

Magnetic ink has the disadvantage of the present requirement that the ink be within close formula tolerances and that the printing be uniform. Although it is possible to obtain readable characters under laboratory conditions from a special magnetic inked typewriter ribbon, it is not yet possible to obtain satisfactory results under routine office conditions.

⁷"A.B.A. Recommends Coding at Bottom of Checks," 41 *Burroughs Clearing House* 31 (May, 1957).

It is generally agreed that optical scanning is more promising if the documents can be controlled to a minimum of overmarking and obliteration. The inking of the characters themselves is subject to much greater tolerances than for magnetic ink reading. However, substantial overprinting or other obliteration may give a high reject rate and the possibility of reading error will be increased, although this second possibility can be reduced by the use of a "check."

The Intelligent Machines Research Corporation reports that two of their automatic readers had no reported error in six months of use where the "check" digit was used for checking purposes. However, the president of IMR has warned against quick judgment as to the reliability and efficiency of either optical or magnetic ink readers. He observed that "conditions vary so widely from one application to another and even from one installation to another that it is completely meaningless to state that any character sensing machine of any description has any given reject or error rate without carefully describing the condition of the material being read."⁸

Progress is being made to reduce the problem of overmarking in optical scanning. For example, by using an original ink of high gloss it is possible to "read through" overmarking of other inks, even blacks if of low intensity.

Related Developments

SEVERAL other methods for the automatic sensing of information are available, using codes to represent characters instead of the characters themselves.

Fluorescent ink codes have received a great deal of research attention. However, the action of the American Bankers Association has resulted in a fall-off in attention to fluorescent ink systems.

One of the most promising developments for automatic sensing, which has a great deal of flexibility, is the FOSDIC (Film Optical Sensing Device for Input to Computers). FOSDIC was developed by the National

⁸D. H. Shepard, "A Technical Note to Potential IMR Character Sensing Customers," dated November 30, 1956.

Bureau of Standards and the Census Bureau. It has been used successfully to read microfilm of marked census field schedules. Data are recorded on magnetic tape for input to their UNIVAC systems but equipment could be engineered to read into the computer. A FOSDIC has been built for the Weather Bureau to read microfilm pictures of punched cards by scanning for the punched holes.

One of the critical engineering problems of rapid character reading has been the successful mechanical movement of paper past a reading head at high speeds. This is especially difficult if the paper is of different sizes and quality. However, through use of a vacuum feed much progress has been made, and speeds of 1,500 to 3,000 items per minute seem reasonably to be expected for practical operations. They have been demonstrated in the laboratories.

The Outlook and Management's Responsibility

THE large office equipment manufacturers are giving substantial attention to research in character sensing. These include the International Business Machines Corporation, the National Cash Register Corporation, General Electric Company, Remington Rand Division, and the Burroughs Corporation. They exchange information and discuss the problems and outlook through their trade association, the Office Equipment Manufacturers Institute.

The federal government is supporting research through defense agencies and the Post Office Department. The Post Office Department has received encouraging progress reports from research on the automatic sorting of letter mail. In a trial run, letters with typed addresses were sorted by eighteen major cities or states successfully.

As in many other areas, experts of technical competence vary in their judgments about the practical potential of automatic character reading. A product planning engineer of one major company reported the industry engi-

neers as "optimistic" as to feasibility but, with one exception, cautious as to the date of commercial availability. A consultant of technical competence predicts "ten years or longer."

In the middle of such difference of opinion, management needs to make some judgment. If commercially feasible character reading is imminent, preliminary systems study should begin now in most mass paper-handling activities. If commercial feasibility is ten or fifteen years hence, management need give it little immediate attention.

Optical scanning equipment is already in commercial use. It seems reasonable to expect that magnetic ink equipment will be commercially available within one to five years. The reasons for this expectation are:

1. Laboratory success such as that described at the Stanford Research Institute, formerly conducted for the Bank of America, now for General Electric.
2. Action and pressure from the banking industry.
3. Government need for the new equipment and support of research and development.
4. Other pressures, such as the tremendous data consumption rate of electronic computers and the relative inefficiency of intermediate media.
5. Competition among automatic reading systems—optical, magnetic ink, and fluorescent.
6. Competition among manufacturers to satisfy the market demand.

These factors suggest the likelihood of relatively rapid progress. Therefore managements of large data processing programs should assign some staff time to appraising current developments and their possible usefulness to the organization. Little is known yet about the economics of character reading and this is one of the areas to which staff attention should be given. It seems reasonable that staff members who have responsibility for study and development of automatic data processing systems should be assigned as monitors and analysts for this promising new component of the system.

Metropolitan Coordination in Los Angeles

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RECENT developments in Los Angeles County have led to the creation of an administrative position unique to local government, that of county-city coordinator. It is supposed to serve as the focal point for negotiations necessary to the establishment, coordination, and operation of the multifold administrative services rendered by the county to its cities. The person in this strategic position will be chief contact for the county with its municipal clients.

The county has long been a kind of metropolitan government under special provisions of its home-rule charter. For the past thirty years, most of the 50-odd cities in the county have obtained various services such as assessment of property, collection of taxes, and public health regulation from the county by special contract or by complete transfer of function to the county. The densely populated unincorporated regions receive many urban services either from the county government or from county-directed single-function taxing districts. Such districts as those for structural fire protection also encompass incorporated cities, and the districts for control of floods and air pollution are metropolitan countywide.

Within the past year, a large number of urban unincorporated areas have been trying

to incorporate. At the last count, there were 32 such efforts, and some had succeeded. Added to the 54 existing cities, the new rash of incorporations might well make the metropolitan area almost solid municipal territory, with city boundaries forming a crazy-quilt pattern. Practically all the new cities plan to obtain most of their municipal services from the county government or from a county special district. Even some of the established cities are pondering whether to relinquish municipal performance and secure county services of one type or another.

Unlike the traditional county, Los Angeles is in a peculiarly good position to take on further heavy administrative burdens. In structure and methods it is more comparable to a modern large city than to the usual county. Elective officials, in addition to the five-member Board of Supervisors, include only three department heads—sheriff, district attorney, and assessor. A chief administrative officer assists the board, and the county has a well-developed civil service.

The county may well be entering an era in which it will be the major administrative unit in the metropolitan area, while policies with respect to standards and kinds of local services will be set by city councils for the county de-

partments to follow. Thus a two-level metropolitan government of a very practical sort may be evolving in Los Angeles County. The County Board of Supervisors is encouraging this development, seeing itself as a sort of central administrative agent for the ever-increasing number of cities.

County officials have seen the handwriting on the wall. On the one side, the urban voters that elect the supervisors, sheriff, assessor, and district attorney apparently desire the advantages of local self-government in determining certain policies such as land-use zoning and stricter traffic control. But they also wish continuation of countywide administration of public health, tax collection, property assessment, and other services, if they can have their independence too. In particular, the unincorporated areas wish continuance of general law enforcement by the sheriff. On the other side, county officials see the harm which could be done to the classified services, such as the peace officers and fire fighters, if these county services were reduced by the withdrawal of jurisdiction from the county through creation of many small municipalities unable to support these public servants at "career" level. Some county employee groups have made known their misgivings concerning the possible injurious effects of a reduction in force brought about by a newly organized city trying to "go it alone."

The county has found that its business with the cities has been growing rapidly as a result of current developments, pressures, and policies. The expanding job of maintaining coherence in county-city relationships has come to require continuous and expert attention to policy matters, public relations, and day-by-day over-all coordination of particular functions. The result has been the creation of the position of county-city coordinator in the chief administrative office of Los Angeles County.¹

The County-City Coordinator

WITHIN this complicated setting, the job of the county-city coordinator may well develop into one of the most important county

administrative posts, with significance for governmental coordination in the metropolitan area. If new incorporations and demands for county services continue to increase with the unceasing spread of urbanization, the Board of Supervisors anticipates that the bulk of municipal-type services will be rendered to incorporated areas by the county, and that all county business of this type will be coordinated and policy formulated through the county-city coordinator. The county would continue, regardless of municipal incorporation activity, to administer its primary services such as welfare, justice, and public records for all residents of the area. These functions, at present, represent the major work load of the county.

The board has conceived the new position broadly as the focal point for all municipal dealings with the county. The coordinator will be the administrative middleman between city managers and councilmen on the one hand and the county departments on the other. He will be the negotiator for the establishment of the necessary administrative relationships and the expediter and coordinator for the execution of terms of the service agreements. In a sense, he will also be the chief public relations officer of the county to the cities. The board expects him to encourage full use of the county's technical services in cases of new incorporation. Already, he is being called upon by a large number of groups to speak upon the economic feasibility of incorporation and the services available from the county. In all probability, most complaints of municipalities about county administration will cross his desk for resolution.

The county-city coordinator is an assistant chief administrative officer, directly responsible to the county chief administrative officer. He is therefore in a strategic position to advise on county policy development relating to cities. The chief administrative officer is a head of staff to the Board of Supervisors, preparing and executing the budget, coordinating information and planning for the county departments, and making recommendations to the board on administrative and policy matters. Actually, the "CAO" has become something of a manager—as have similarly situated CAO's in other California counties and cities

¹ Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, *Minutes*, December 18, 1956, Item No. 122.

—despite the concern of some of the supervisors. Thus the job of county-city coordination has really been assigned to the county's top administrative official. This, it would appear, is the best place to locate it; to put it elsewhere would weaken and confuse lines of communication and authority. The county-city coordinator is a staff, not a line, officer. He may advise, assist, and cajole, but he cannot order—even with the backing of the CAO.

Expansion of county-city relationships would seem to demand a more highly structured pattern of departmental administrative arrangements than has been necessary in the past to serve the best interests of the county and the cities. Each department which serves a group of cities has appointed an administrative agent who will be the liaison with the department, the county-city coordinator, and the cities. These departmental representatives are to be channels of communication, not of supervisory control, for the county-city coordinator. City officials are expected to take routine matters regarding a particular department's function directly to the designated departmental agent, thereby simplifying channels of communication between municipalities and county administration and expediting operations, especially in the realm of emergency public safety problems.

Most new cities, and a host of the old, have city manager government; practically all of the proposed municipalities intend to secure this form of government. Experience thus far has shown that liaison with the county departments, from the city's side, is easily carried through the city manager or his office. In all probability most of the established relationships which the county-city coordinator will have with the cities will be through the administrative facility of a city manager.

As yet, the position of county-city coordinator has no definite content. Content will be determined by the developing incorporation situation, by the feelings of the board, and by the person who serves as coordinator. The board is serious in its plans to increase services and improve their administration to cities. This fact is testified to by its selection of Robert Andersen as the first county-city coordinator. Mr. Andersen, who was formerly city administrator of Lakewood, has a background of training

and experience in public administration and public finance. He has a master's degree in public administration and is a certified public accountant. Only a few years ago, under his tutelage, Lakewood became the first city to secure all of its municipal-type services from Los Angeles County under a new type of all-inclusive, general services contract. The fame of this example of an independent city making complete use of another government's functional organization has spread far and wide as the "Lakewood Plan." Lakewood retains its legislative functions and certain staff administrative functions such as budgeting, finance, planning, and policy formulation. The Lakewood Plan is, indeed, the prototype for the county supervisors for their plan for metropolitan government.

Among the first steps taken by Mr. Andersen on assuming the new position was to draw upon the county's long experience with contract services and his own experience in Lakewood to devise systematic means of assisting new municipalities. Present assistance consists of studies prior to incorporation, six weeks of close work with the city in its organizational stages, and subsequent coordination of intergovernmental relations with the county. Rather comprehensive studies are made in order to show the effect that incorporation will have on the existing governmental and financial structure of a particular area. Copies of these studies are available to all citizens in the area, so that they may know what revenue will be forthcoming and what functions will have to be assumed by the new city. No recommendations as to the desirability of incorporation are made.

On the day following an election that results in incorporation, the coordinator sends a packet of materials to each of the newly elected councilmen and the city attorney. These packets include model resolutions and agreements which may be adopted by the city council for municipal services rendered by the county. Also, there are enclosed model ordinances to cover the problems of the transition period, such as emergency regulations for protection of health, safety, and morals of residents. For cities interested in the Lakewood Plan, a recommended pattern of municipal organization is furnished, the organization

chart of which is presented below. It provides for council-manager government and a very simple hierarchy of responsibility facilitating county-city relationships.

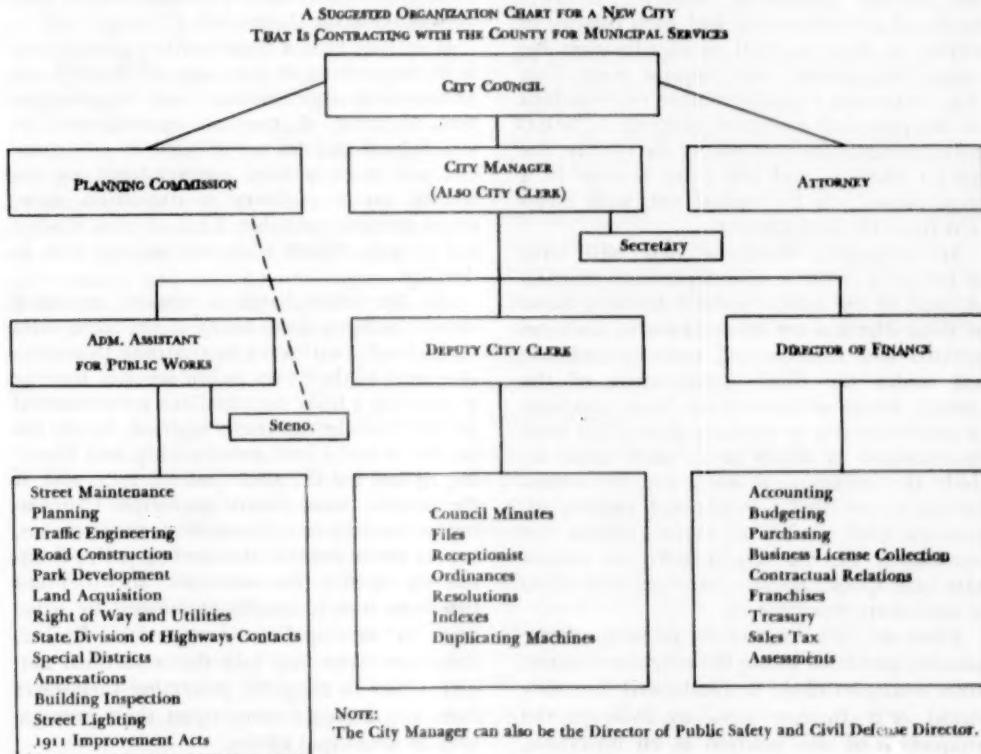
During the six-weeks period immediately following organization of the city council, the county-city coordinator advises city officials in more detail upon service contracts with the county, necessary permanent regulations, administrative organization, and finance. He has been especially concerned with enabling the city to set up a modern administrative structure and avoiding such pitfalls as those caused by providing for elective officials other than councilmen.

Problems To Be Faced

THE coordinator faces a large number of administrative and policy problems, and he will have no easy row to hoe. The cities that obtain services from the county vary in size,

shape, number of services secured, and quality of services wanted. Each service performed by the county in each city must be considered on a somewhat individual basis. It is uncertain how many new cities will be incorporated and how many and what quality of county services each of them will want. Planning for future county services to cities in such matters as service areas, boundaries and facilities, number of people to be added to the staffs of some departments, and financing of activities is a matter of conjecture.

One of the future tasks of the coordinator will be the encouragement of all cities using a particular county function to work toward adoption of a uniform standard of service. This will be no easy task, as each community has its own ideas of quality and quantity, and of what it can pay for. On the other hand, lack of uniform service standards renders county-wide administration difficult and sometimes



costly. A similar problem may result from the fact that some new cities may not wish to make full use of the county machinery. Likewise, it will be some time before the full potential of county services for each function is available promptly everywhere.

In the interim, the county-city coordinator will no doubt be hearing complaints from cities that speedier services are needed. He will also be trying to solve problems of organizational structures and relationships within the program and explaining services to city councilmen, managers, and county department heads. These would seem to be the most back-breaking tasks for the days immediately ahead.

There may also be some difficulty in securing the full cooperation of county department heads in administration of services to cities. Some remain unconvinced that provision of these services should be a task of county government. The staff position of the coordinator only permits him to give advice and assistance and to use persuasion. Securing uniform modes of administration and high quality of service to cities, as well as coordination between departments, may require more than this. Intracounty administrative relationships in the proposed extended program of intergovernmental relations among the county, the special districts, and the cities remain in a large measure to be worked out, with direction from the coordinator.

An additional headache that will have to be faced is the semi-independent position of some of the county special districts. Some of these districts are all-inclusive of unincorporated and incorporated territory and are not under the direct government of the County Board of Supervisors. Some continue to render services to territory after it has been incorporated in whole or in part; these include the sanitation districts and the metropolitan water district. While such entities administer vital services to municipalities, the coordinator has no responsibility to coordinate such special district activities with those of the county departments.

These are only a few of the pressing administrative problems facing the new coordinator. More examples could be catalogued, but they would only further serve to indicate the uniqueness of this position as an uncertain,

complex, and politically pregnant area of activity.

Tentative Conclusions

IT is too soon to make more than a few tentative conclusions regarding implications of this officially planned metropolitan administrative mechanism in Los Angeles. No one knows just how many new cities will be created and to what extent they will use county services. Even more problematical is the extent to which established municipalities may wish to turn to the county for services. Upon these major imponderables rests the future of the county-city coordinator and the program which the Board of Supervisors hopes he will implement.

It is likely, however, that there will be more municipalities, and that many of them will secure the full complement of county municipal-type services. There is also evidence that some of the established cities are considering obtaining certain county services which they now provide for themselves.

It may be that a metropolitan government is in the making in Los Angeles through administrative coordination and standardization. A kind of two-level government, in which local policies are decided by city councils and most services are rendered by the county on a uniform metropolitan scale, seems generally possible. This, at least, is what top county officials wish and actively seek to develop.

On the other hand, a counter tendency should be recognized. Many of the large cities undoubtedly will want to continue to administer most of their own public services, thereby preventing a truly metropolitan governmental pattern from being wholly realized. As yet, the county is not a real coordinating and directing agency for the metropolitan area, and, if the present trend toward municipal fragmentation through new incorporations continues, it may never become the unified policy-determining agency for areawide metropolitan functions that is usually envisioned by advocates of metropolitan integration. Rather, these new cities may join the established municipalities in doggedly protecting themselves from any encroachments upon their prerogatives in municipal affairs.

It is precisely in relation to this last problem that the new Los Angeles County mechanism may be most useful. In the position of county-city coordinator there is a potential role of drawing together all of the evidence on metropolitan problems, of defining problems that are areawide, and of determining which may be solved only by areawide effort. This officer may serve as the channel through which city and district officials and community leaders of unincorporated areas may come together to work out with the county their interjurisdictional and broader-than-city problems.

Indeed, the device of county-city coordinator will improve the position of the county in its struggle with the larger cities over how metropolitan government may develop. Here is a focal point for carrying forth an aggressive county policy for assumption of municipal services. Here also is a focal point for improving and coordinating those services so that cities may find them more satisfactory than those their own departments can give, and perhaps cheaper. In anticipation of the future metropolitan governmental role of the county, the coordinator is studying current experience in Toronto, Miami, Sacramento, and Seattle.

The location of the position of county-city coordinator in the office of the CAO will strengthen that official in relation to county department heads. With the increase in the number of incorporations alone, work may be expected to develop greatly, with many more coordinating and directing functions lodged in the CAO's office. Contacts which hitherto have been between municipal officers and county department heads will in all probabili-

ty be channeled through the county-city coordinator. The chief administrative officer may thus tend to have more supervisory functions. It is possible that city councilmen, also, might bring their policy troubles to the coordinator for solution.

It is likely that the county-city coordinator is only the first of a staff of persons who will be employed in the coordination of county-city affairs. The large job with which he will be confronted will probably lead to the employment of specialists in fiscal administration and public relations. Much thought is being given to how such an office should be organized and developed.

The county policy of encouraging new cities and their use of county services, and the creation of a coordinating mechanism for handling the problems that arise, are based in part on the concept of a "grass-roots" approach to metropolitan government. As indicated, this concept might lead to a two-level government where policy can be tailored by local people to local conditions, but services are administered on a countywide basis to obtain the benefits of large-scale operation and specialization. There are still many questions to be answered before it will be possible to know whether the grass-roots idea can survive within the metropolitan pattern that seems to be developing in Los Angeles County. However, both the supervisors and the county-city coordinator appear most anxious that grass-roots decisions on local matters be encouraged and that the county administrative machinery carry them out.

Tasks of the Administrator

It is a prime task of administration to bridge the gap between the generalist and the specialist, between the politician and the professional man, between public policy defined in general terms and program translated into the specific acts of administration. The administrator, then, in a sense must be both generalist and specialist, although in another and very important sense he may be neither. He is required to be able to conceive programs, to translate them into operational terms, to grasp relationships, to deal with men. The administrator not only organizes for and manages the implementation of public policy, he translates and interprets that policy. He is therefore both a tool and an exemplar of democracy.

—Roscoe C. Martin, *Grass Roots* (University of Alabama Press, 1957), p. 86.

Military-Civilian Teamwork

By JOHN M. WYNNE

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Sacramento Air Materiel Area

IN THE heart of California's Central Valley, ten miles northeast of the capital city of Sacramento, is McClellan Air Force Base, headquarters of the Sacramento Air Materiel Area. This base was constructed twenty years ago as the principal West Coast Air Force Depot for the repair of aircraft and equipment and the storage and distribution of materiel.

As the nation's air power has grown, so has this installation. At its dedication in 1939, its employees were numbered in the hundreds. Today 20,000 people, three-fourths of them civilians, are at work on various Air Force missions. Most of them are assigned to the Sacramento Air Materiel Area which is part of the worldwide operation of the Air Materiel Command engaged in procurement, supply, and maintenance activities for the entire Air Force.

The managerial responsibilities of the Sacramento Air Materiel Area, measured by normal business standards, are enormous. They include the management and control of an inventory of over \$0.5 billion of materiel, the assurance of effective supply and maintenance support to nearly half the aircraft in the Air Force inventory, and the administration of contracts with major Air Force suppliers totaling in excess of \$2 billion per year.

Top management of the Sacramento Air Materiel Area includes Major General George E. Price, commander, Colonel H. H. Tellman, his deputy, and the senior Air Force commissioned officers who head the major depart-

ments and staff offices. These officers assume responsibility for results, provide policy direction, assure responsiveness of logistics to military operational requirements, and bring their extensive military tactical and logistical experience to the accomplishment of the Command mission. Each military department head has, assisting and advising him, a technical associate who is a member of the federal civil service. The technical associates are men with extensive experience in their particular fields. Most of them have risen up through the ranks of the Sacramento Air Materiel Area to their positions of responsibility. Thus they provide continuity in management and technical advice in their respective fields.

Consultative Management By Civilian Executives

IT HAS been traditional in the military service, as it is common to most businesses, for members of top management to meet periodically for planning and policy formulation and for the resolution of joint problems. Much more rare in the services, however, is an organization to tap the collective "know-how" of the civilian executives in the resolution of the over-all problems of the Command. It was for this purpose, over four years ago, that the SMAMA Executive Staff was formed. The broad objectives for the formation of this staff were ". . . to further improve the teamwork and cooperation between major line and staff components of the Command and to provide

for base-wide coordinated action on plans, policies, and procedures below the level of the SMAMA Commander." The basic directive establishing the staff stated: "The members of the Executive Staff meet not only to present technical advice from the viewpoint of the organization from which they are appointed, but to consider matters from the 'Commander's Viewpoint' in an effort to work out solutions best for the Command as a whole."

The group is made up of twelve members. Included are the technical associates to the following officers: commander, comptroller, inspector general, chief of plans and programming, director of maintenance-engineering, director of procurement and production, director of supply and services, director of the Pacific Logistics Terminal, quality control officer, and the base commander. Included also are the civilian officials in charge of two major staff divisions, Civilian Personnel and Manpower and Organization.

The Executive Staff is characterized by stability and experience. The individuals who were members of the staff at its formation over four years ago are still members. There has been no turnover in this top-management group. The stability and extensive experience of the group is indicated also by the length of federal service of the members, which now averages eighteen years.

The Executive Staff meets weekly. The agenda for each week's meeting is a formal published document known as the "Problem Area Summary." This document is made up of items submitted by each of the major departments as representing their most troublesome current problems. Any problem serious enough in its implications to require an immediate Command decision is, of course, reported to the commander immediately. The problems on which the Executive Staff works tend to be those which reflect a breakdown of systems or procedures, a requirement for better allocation of resources, a need for fact finding leading to formulation of the policy, or a disagreement over jurisdiction or responsibility. Typical problems are these: lack of procedure for effecting jet engine minor repair, imbalance in distribution of manpower authorizations, requirement for personnel test-

ing policy, and determination of accountability for contractual repair of aircraft.

Each Executive Staff member is expected to brief his director or chief at the earliest possible time on the actions taken or recommended by the Executive Staff. On the day following each Executive Staff meeting, the Executive Staff chairman presents to the commander in written form for his approval a summary of the conclusions and recommendations. In order to provide his military staff an opportunity to take exception to any Executive Staff recommendation, the commander allows three working days before he acts on the minutes. The great majority of the recommendations are approved as submitted or with such modifications as are required to assure conformity with command policy. When the Executive Staff cannot take conclusive action on a problem, it carries the problem in its agenda and in suspense with periodic reporting by the action agency until the problem is resolved.

Some Evaluations and Conclusions

GETTING the major and most troublesome problems up to the level at which they can be resolved is not easy. Far too often problems are "cooked" at the lower levels of the organization until they boil over. The results are, of course, disastrous to a manager who is not fully informed of the troublesome problems in his organization, especially when the components of the organization are closely interrelated and dependent on one another for tightly scheduled performance.

It was necessary, then, on establishing the SMAMA Executive Staff not only to develop the mechanics of problem reporting but also to create the climate in which problems would be readily and freely reported. It had to be made clear to managers throughout the organization that they had much to gain and nothing to lose from passing along the problems they had tried to solve without success. There has grown, over the years in which this system has been in use at the Sacramento Air Materiel Area, an awareness that the "problem area route" is a quick way to bring a problem to top-management attention and

get coordinated and aggressive action for its solution.

The major purpose of the Executive Staff, i.e., bringing a wealth of technical experience to bear upon the problems of the Command, has been achieved by this cycle of reporting, fact-finding, weighing, and decision-making. This process, in addition, has had a most important by-product—the further growth and development of the participating civilian executives. Their close association over a span of over 200 meetings has given each member an understanding of the problems and responsibilities of the Command, that could have been achieved in no other way. There is gained here a sense of participation in the Command decision-making process. With that sense of participation has come a sense of responsibility that the decisions be made that are best for the Command as a whole. While each member contributes technical advice from the point of view of his organization, and represents his organization's interests, there has developed a team spirit which recognizes that narrower organization interests must often be subordinated to the good of the whole.

The conclusions of the staff are the more valuable because they are not forced. While the group has a permanent chairman, he makes no decisions. The conclusions of the group are forged out of reasoned discussion and understanding, in which all points of view are brought to bear upon the problem. When a member of the Executive Staff leaves the staff table, he has agreed to a course of action to be recommended by the group and he feels himself morally bound to assure that it is carried out.

The Executive Staff has been effective because it has enjoyed the support and confidence of the commander. This support has grown out of the commander's awareness of the role of the Executive Staff in developing a sense of teamwork within the Command, in finding and weighing facts on tough problems, and, through this process, freeing the commander and his staff for concentration on top policy-making and controls. It is the conviction of all who are a part of this process that it has improved the management of the resources entrusted to them for the logistic support of the Air Force.

Finalized Federalese

If we are correct in our assumption, it would seem to appear that the maximum operational level of Government correspondence is to be elevated through a project instituted by the National Archives to facilitate the inditing of what are commonly known as "simple letters." In view of the growing body of opinion among American tax contributors that an economy in phraseology in Government documents is an urgent necessity, plans for this undertaking should be immediately activated, implemented, effectuated and consummated by the necessary directives.

At the same time, any retrenchment in Federal verbiage should be based on a careful coordination of the various and manifold departmental dialects involved. We regret that the exigencies of space prevent our being in a position to make a thoroughgoing appraisal of all the factors encompassed in this operation. But from a cursory check of the over-all picture we feel safe in venturing the observation that it is a darn good idea.

—The Washington Post and Times Herald, July 14, 1957.

Performance Budgeting in the Philippines

By MALCOLM B. PARSONS

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EARLY in 1956 the leading daily newspaper of the Philippines published an editorial cartoon depicting President Ramon Magsaysay as an animal trainer brandishing a whip at a large elephant. The elephant, labelled "Performance Budget," seemed to be standing somewhat precariously on a noticeably small platform labelled "Taxes." Members of Congress in the background were shown exchanging skeptical glances; the caption was their comment: "The same animal—only bigger."¹

The budget was many millions of pesos bigger than it had ever been before, and scant attention was directed at the perennial problem of an inadequate and inequitable tax base. But, notwithstanding these elements of truth in the cartoonist's observation, it was not really "the same animal." Ostensibly, this was a "performance budget," the first such governmentwide budget in the Philippines and a striking example of American success in peddling abroad a management device having substantially less than general acceptance in governmental practice at home.

It seems appropriate to examine performance budgeting in the Philippines with an eye to determining its effectiveness in that setting.

and to inquire as to the wisdom of assigning its early promotion such a high priority in United States operations policy.

Development of the Program

FOLLOWING in large measure the recommendations of President Truman's Economic Survey Mission to the Philippines in 1950, under Daniel Bell, the United States has undertaken a program of technical and economic assistance to that country through an agency whose designation has made progress through the alphabet from ECA, MSA, and FOA to the current ICA. In 1950 the Bell Mission had urged over-all modernization of fiscal administration. Throughout its experience with budgeting, government in the Philippines had operated under a line-item system, but with the start of the assistance program, one agency, the Philippine Council for United States Aid (PHILCUSA), had been required to budget Philippine counterpart funds on a program basis, and certain budgeting activities of the Bureau of Lands and the National Bureau of Investigation seem at least to have stressed program.

The result of American and Filipino pressures for general budgetary change was congressional enactment and presidential ap-

¹ *The Manila Times*, February 7, 1956.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW

proval, on June 4, 1954, of Republic Act 992, requiring "that the whole budgetary concept of the government be based on functions, activities, and projects, in terms of expected results." Early passage of the revised budget act may have surprised even some of its more articulate sponsors who had advocated the change less in the belief that it was immediately possible or desirable than in the hope that discussion might be educational, thereby stimulating favorable response another year. Technical assistants in public administration in the U. S. Operations Mission to the Philippines had spurred agitation for revision of the budgetary system, and one compelling inducement to change was the assurance of dollars to underwrite costs. Immediately after enactment of the revised budget act, the Foreign Operations Administration sponsored a contract between the Republic of the Philippines and an American firm of management consultants for installation of performance budgeting and modernization of the accounting system.

In 1954 twelve agencies were selected to make the pioneering shift to performance budgeting for fiscal year 1955-56. The remaining sixty-eight agencies of the national government were to be shifted the following fiscal year, 1956-57. The task of installing the new system began with an extensive central training program undertaken by the Budget Commission with the help of its United States consultants. Somehow, the training was compressed into a period short enough to allow 1955 budget deadlines to be met despite all the attendant difficulties of the change-over. A judicious selection of the dozen pilot agencies was one of the factors in this degree of success. After submitting this 1955-56 "ninety-day wonder" budget on a performance basis for twelve agencies, it was necessary to extend the same processes on a governmentwide basis so as to cover the sixty-eight remaining agencies in the budget for the following fiscal year. The end result of somewhat less than two years of work, then, was the budget document for 1956-57 which had occasioned the editorial comment of the *Manila Times*, "The same animal—only bigger."

In size, the 1957 *Republic of the Philippines Budget* is an impressive document. It

runs to 742 printed pages, 14.5 x 10.5 inches. Its scope is also impressive. The first forty-six pages are devoted to the President's message; a resume of receipts and expenditures; a comparative budget statement for each fund separately and all consolidated; the public debt; cash position; a summary of income; a summary of new appropriations; and a summary of expenditures, first by functions and then by departments, with each fund considered separately and then all consolidated. Charts are included to summarize much of the information at a glance. The remaining 696 pages are taken up with the spending agencies. Information about each agency includes a general summary of appropriations and authorizations, current operating expenditures, and capital outlay. Agency activities are broken down into programs, projects, and work units. A schedule of salaries and wages is supported by past, current, and future work measurement and unit cost data. Changes in estimated obligations between current and budget year are analyzed by project. Finally, ratios are presented between the total personnel of the agency and the number engaged in general administration, along with the cost of general administration per man-year.

In appearance, the budget document seems to be as comprehensive as a budget document could be. But what lies behind the appearance? How realistic was the change? What can be said of the chances of realizing the advantages glibly claimed by the proponents of the new system? These advantages may be summarized as threefold: (1) performance budgeting is a superior tool of management, (2) it is more meaningful and effective as a legislative instrument for evaluating and controlling the executive, and (3) it is more comprehensible to the citizenry.

It is a mistake to assume, as in U. S. operations policy in the Philippines, that for a few million dollars and in a couple of years a dozen or more American consultants can go almost anywhere and successfully install one or another "management improvement" system. In a very short time American dollars have bought the appearance of performance budgeting in the Philippines. But it is not likely that in its operation the supposed advantages will accrue, because of the continu-

ance of fundamental conditions that are not compatible with the objectives and advantages of a system like performance budgeting. In the Philippine setting there are four major, related problem areas within which these conditions may be identified for consideration. The problem areas are measurement, personnel, organization, and the role of the legislature.

Measurement

EFFECTIVE measurement is a fundamental condition of performance budgeting, and at the same time it suggests a continuing challenge to the whole concept of performance budgeting. Some activities are not at all susceptible of being reduced to meaningfully measurable units of work. Where administrative judgment and discretion are important, quantification loses its effectiveness as a means of evaluating activity. The attempt to reduce all activity to comparable, measurable units of cost may tend toward sacrifice of quality of output for quantity. It tends to overemphasize the value of sheer manual and machine activity, with a diminishing regard for underlying individual and institutional intelligence.

Apart from this basic policy problem is the technical difficulty of determining unit costs and setting cost standards. The establishment of performance budgeting in American business followed the development of cost accounting, which has become a useful tool in the pursuit of profit and the realization of corporate income tax advantages. Performance budgeting in government needs to serve substantially different purposes but, until recently, has been "slavishly" linked to cost accounting.² Increased use of the man-hour approach, personnel ratios, and point grading systems, as well as cost accounting, has gradually led to some installations of performance budgeting in American public administration.

The dominant concept of legal accountability is a serious limitation on meaningful performance budgeting in the Philippines. There have been no established cost accounting and work measurement systems. The General Auditing Office under the Auditor General

continues to dominate governmental accounting through prescription of procedures and the conduct of a highly-detailed preaudit. From 1936 to 1938 the accounting service was under the central budget office. In 1938 accounting and auditing were fused in the General Auditing Office. The functions were separated during the Japanese occupation but rejoined from 1945 to 1947. In 1947 the accounting service was decentralized under the supervision of the Budget Commission. In 1950 the service was brought again entirely within the Budget Commission. In 1956, under an approved reorganization plan, the accounting service was again decentralized under Budget Commission supervision. This shifting focus of responsibility during the past twenty years suggests vacillation about the purpose of the accounting function.

There is a shortage of personnel possessing adequate accounting skills. Much of what passes for accounting is little more than book-keeping. Many of the laboriously detailed accounting and reporting procedures are an inheritance from three hundred years of Spanish rule, unchanged during forty years of American occupation before the islands fell to Japan in 1942. The employment of attorneys in key positions fortifies the traditional emphasis on legal accountability.

Because of the pressure to produce something that looked like a performance budget in a severely limited time it was decided at the outset not to try to change the existent system. Under these circumstances the cost and accomplishment data in the 1957 budget document are not products of performance accounting and work measurement systems but are inferences and guesses about these things in agencies never organized, staffed, or disposed to determine them.

Once the budget document was in print attention shifted to the problem which, logically, would seem to have required attention first: installing systems that can produce the data needed for a performance budget. This task will be much more difficult and important than the one that has already been done, yet without accurate measurement the new system will be shadow without substance.

It is unlikely that any single system can be devised to serve simultaneously and equally

² Frank Sherwood, "Some Non-cost Accounting Approaches to Performance Budgeting," 36 *Public Management* 9 (January, 1954).

well such diverse needs as those of the Treasury, the Budget Commission, the General Auditing Office, and the operating agencies. Yet, for performance budgeting the challenge is to muster enough resources to develop present procedures beyond the rigidity of an independent preaudit, beyond tabulation and reporting of categorized expenditures to assure quarterly allotment of funds, into systems capable of serving the needs of management in the daily functions of government.

Personnel

THE advantages claimed for performance budgeting cannot be realized under the present personnel system. Performance budgeting is complex and requires superior personnel in order to work. Superior personnel are not generally afforded by the Philippine civil service system.

Ostensibly the government operates under a merit system. The Philippine civil service law is a merit system law. However, many of the positions of the civil service are made to fall outside the operations of the merit system. There are two ways in which this happens: by-passing the intent of provisions governing the unclassified service, and abuse of the power of temporary appointment.

The unclassified service is exempt from competitive examinations and includes the departmental secretaries and undersecretaries, bureau chiefs, secretaries and technical assistants to the President and department heads, laborers, and those declared by the President, upon recommendation of the Commissioner of Civil Service, as policy determining, primarily confidential, or highly technical. Under the last two categories great inroads have been made into positions nominally within the classified service. The practice is to place people in whatever position is wanted for them and then call them "laborer" or "confidential assistant." Often the term "laborer" is simply prefixed to a regular classified service position title, such as "laborer-clerk."

In spite of restrictions on the hiring of temporary employees, nearly one-half of the positions within the classified service are held by temporary appointees, many of whom lack the qualifications established for their posi-

tions. One Filipino commentator has forthrightly said that "ours has always been essentially a government of political patronage."³

Since liberation, in 1946, the Bureau of Civil Service has become increasingly ineffective as a central personnel agency.⁴ This situation is partly because of the impotence of top leadership, partly because of the twin pressures of patronage and chronic, high unemployment. Because of the serious extent of unemployment, and equally serious underemployment, the public payroll continues to be used quite openly as a means of providing jobs. Government positions have been widely sought despite low pay, and because of low pay the system of *pabagsak* (petty graft and not-so-petty graft) flourishes. Because of patronage some of the functions of personnel administration have shifted from the agencies and the central Bureau of Civil Service to *padrones* (political sponsors) who operate through both the legislature and the executive.

If these difficulties of personnel could be surmounted, others would remain. Many of the advantages of a performance budget cannot be realized without a uniform system of position classification and pay. Without such a system there are no standards upon which to base budgetary decisions about the cost of personal services. A plan has been devised by U. S. consultants and accepted by the Philippine Congress but it remains to be fully implemented. Even so, the new classification system is based on existent position titles, wages, and personnel. Thus, it reflects the progressive deterioration of the civil service over the past ten years. The position classification and pay system cannot be expected to surmount these difficulties, especially if patronage continues to dominate

³ Leon O. Ty, "You've Got to Have Connections," *Philippines Free Press* 4 (May 5, 1956).

⁴ The leading Philippine magazine of public affairs, editorially describing "the deterioration of the Bureau of Civil Service," has cited "the peddling of test papers," "rampant cheating among those taking the tests," "substitutes" taking the tests on behalf of certain examinees," and the "fixing" of failing grades "for the sum of P300 to P500 by 'agents' who had 'connections' with certain Bureau personnel." *47 Philippines Free Press* 1 (September 15, 1956).

the civil service through temporary and unclassified appointments.

Another aspect of the personnel problem intimately related to performance budgeting is in the field of training. The Institute of Public Administration of the University of the Philippines, established with U. S. assistance in 1952, was obligated to set up in-service training facilities that would contribute directly and promptly to the effectiveness of government operations and the efficiency of government employees. From January, 1953, through November, 1954, several thousand government employees attended institute training courses in executive development, supervisory development, personnel, budgeting, and records management. But in 1955, assessing the pilot experience of installing performance budgeting in twelve agencies, the Budget Commission noted that while "extensive training is the key to successful implementation of budgeting changes . . . resources of the departments and agencies for developing training programs for their personnel are virtually non-existent."¹⁵

It was not until the spring of 1955 that any effort was made to establish the responsibility and competence of governmental agencies themselves for in-service training. At that time, and into the summer of 1956, the In-Service Training Division of the Institute of Public Administration finally shifted its emphasis to courses for the training of government agency training officers. Five six-week courses were held for some 170 prospective training officers representing most of the government. This program came much too late to be of any effective aid in the implementation of performance budgeting.

Organization

CLOSELY related to problems of measurement and personnel is a problem of organization. The values claimed for performance budgeting can only be expected to accrue in effective organizations. In the Philippines, as elsewhere, there is the difficulty of *ad hoc* organizational development along lines which violate rational concepts of functional departmentization. In addition, administrative or-

ganization in the Philippines is overly centralized, both in the number and kind of decisions that are made in central agencies and in the sheer weight of the governmental establishment in Manila as contrasted with field services that have been traditionally so malnourished as to be truly skeletal.

The Philippines has had its own "Hoover Commission," the Government Survey and Reorganization Commission, with U. S. staff assistance. In the main, the commission's proposals have been idealistic, formulary schemes for improving executive direction, coordination, and control through a more functional alignment of activities.

Of some fifty reorganization plans submitted to the Congress in 1955, only one was approved. In 1956 the Congress accepted thirty-three plans and rejected twenty.¹⁶ After the issuance of implementary administrative orders by the President, the vital test will come in every affected agency. In the Philippines, as elsewhere, there is often a marked discrepancy between what actually transpires in administration and what the statutes and administrative orders prescribe.

Continued delay in reorganization will surely circumscribe the results expected from performance budgeting. Yet, the results are inherently circumscribed by the fact that the drive and technical skill required to devise reorganization have been American. Many operational aspects of these plans which might seem commonplace in well-run American offices would be totally unknown in countless others. How much more highly sophisticated they seem in the Philippine setting! These are not minor alterations easily managed and as easily assimilated into a traditional pattern. In the matter of ordering human relationships serious questions arise as to the wisdom of transposing freely from American experience into the setting of an underdeveloped country.

The Role of the Legislative Branch

THE role of the Congress in performance budgeting also produces difficulties. In the Philippines, as elsewhere, in instances where

¹⁵Final action on the proposals came on May 6, 1956. This appears to be a good batting average, but a cursory examination of the details of many of the proposals as first submitted in 1955 and then in 1956 indicates the lines of compromise that were frequently necessary to get either legislative or agency support.

¹⁶Philippine Budget Commission, "Training Programs," in *Training for Performance Budgeting* (Manila: 1955), vol. I, pp. i-ii.

people are in politics for illicit gain they are frequently uninterested in methods by which actual results can be measured. There have been recent evidences of legislative displeasure, and it is possible that some legislators who voted for the revised budget act did not foresee some of the consequences of their actions.

After the first year's trial run with twelve agencies, and while the Budget Commission was completing its first all-performance budget document, the House Appropriations Committee announced the results of an intersessional investigation: performance budgeting in the first twelve agencies had been unsuccessful; the transfer of power from the agencies to the central budget office had hindered agency operations; none of the agencies' performance had measured up to promise. This report acknowledged no dismay over the potential curtailment of legislative control of administration, but articulate pressure for a return to line-item budgeting suggested that for at least some legislators this was an accompanying if not underlying motive.

Shortly after the 1956 session opened, and the 1956-57 performance budget had been received, the House asked the Budget Commission to submit an alternate line-item budget. The Budget Commission complied. A compromise between President and Congress was soon announced. Instead of all the remaining sixty-eight agencies, only eight would be added to the original twelve to make the shift to the new system during the next fiscal year. At this rate, most agencies can be expected for quite some time to continue as in the past on line-item appropriations and subject to detailed legislative control over their personnel and programs—in spite of the fact that the Revised Budget Act of 1954 was intended to end the line-item system. The Budget Commission will be trying to release funds for agencies on a program basis, despite the handicap of what may continue to be predominantly line-item appropriations.

Another adverse congressional influence is in the field of capital outlay budgeting. Under the Revised Budget Act of 1954, capital outlays are required to be separated from current operating expenditures, but the problem is how to bring them under the executive budgetary process. A large part of the public works

phase of the fiscal plan is determined by the "pork barrel." This system, learned in principle from the United States, is entrenched in Philippine legislative tradition. Under it each member of the House and Senate is given complete discretion over the spending of a specified sum of public works money in his bailiwick.

Under these circumstances there is no system for applying to all capital expenditures standards of measurement and judgment comparable to those used in budgeting operating costs. It was estimated in 1954 that nearly one-third of all postwar public works appropriations had gone into "projects whose contribution to national development was not even gauged by the planners and executors of the government's investment on public works."⁷ A sizable portion of capital outlay, then, is not only outside performance budgeting but outside any kind of an executive budgetary system. The "pork barrel," of estimable political utility to the legislators, is difficult to defend in a country like the Philippines, where capital investment is of fundamental importance and current means fall considerably short of what will be needed to realize aspirations for national improvement.

Conclusion

IN VIEW of these problems of measurement, personnel, organization, and the role of the legislative branch of the government, it is not easy to understand why the U. S. Operations Mission chose at this time to make a major effort to install performance budgeting in the Philippines. Unless one concedes that any activity smacking of change is useful simply because it is activity, this effort suggests that the U. S. Operations Mission in the Philippines has assumed that a different administrative system, like performance budgeting, can be installed in any environment with only superficial acknowledgment of indigenous circumstances which condition its effectiveness. Such an assumption must be rooted in strong faith, for it surely is controverted by experience in the Philippine governmental setting.

Performance budgeting attempts to do a

⁷ Florencio Moreno, "Capital Improvement Budgeting," in Odell Waldby, *Philippine Public Fiscal Administration* (Manila: 1954), p. 302.

great deal more than line-item budgeting. It seeks to frame policy questions for legislative and citizen consideration in terms of program shortcomings and accomplishments. It attempts to establish the budget as a point of conjuncture in the over-all planning, organizing, coordinating, and controlling of governmental activities. Because it is so broadly involved in management processes, it is at least as much a conditioned as a conditioning factor. The success of performance budgeting depends, to a degree unknown in line-item budgeting, upon the prevailing standards of measurement, personnel, organization, and legislative-executive relationships. The strengths and weaknesses of these standards are the strengths and weaknesses of performance budgeting. It is chiefly a way of expressing and relating them. It is contingent upon them. They determine whatever meaning a performance budget has. They constitute the limits of effectiveness both of its content and of its procedures.

There has been a tendency for U. S. public administration technical assistants in the Philippines to oversell performance budgeting and a number of other prescriptive administrative alterations, with the result that people in and out of the government have come to view each succeeding change as a panacea. Such overselling ignores the normal limits of success which circumscribe benefits to be derived from one administrative device or another. It ignores the realities of politics. It ignores complex underlying social and economic problems which cannot be manipulated out of existence by gimmicks.

The most urgent problems in an underdeveloped country like the Philippines are problems of economic development that need to be met directly; there is a rather widespread assumption that they cannot be left for solution to the "natural economic forces" that produced them. It ought not to be assumed, either, that their solution will derive tangentially from whatever improvement is wrought by technical assistance in public administration.

Possibly more important are the policy implications of efficiency and economy drives. Performance budgeting in the Philippines was properly advanced by some interests, Filipino

as well as American, as a way of improving the efficiency with which an underdeveloped country might bring its scarce means to bear upon the satisfaction of many competing needs. But in all such drives there are other interests having less concern for effective performance of function than for the general reduction of expenditures. Thus, a drive for performance budgeting in the interests of economy and efficiency, so as to make available more money for essential activities, subtly strengthens those who oppose even essential activities by advocating economy and efficiency *per se*. Overemphasis on the establishment of an efficient and economical bureaucracy before some success is had in coping with such basic problems as generally low levels of living, chronic unemployment and underemployment, and the other problems of a largely underdeveloped economy may help "keep the lid on" and frustrate change.

This should not be construed as a plea for bureaucratic inefficiency, but rather as recognition of the fact that politically effective interests sometimes choose improvement in public administration as an alternate to, or a long-range, roundabout way of getting basic social and economic change. This is particularly true in the Philippines where the dominant holders of political and economic power have given at least partial support to programs in public administration but have blocked any effective program for land reform⁸ or for revision of the tax system which continues to be grossly inadequate and inequitable.⁹ Efficient administrative machines can be used to prevent as well as to promote development, and much of the effort that it takes to produce the appearance, if not the reality, of improvement in public administration can become, as it has in the Philippines, a means of concealing inability or unwillingness to undertake needed action on other fronts.

⁸ See Malcolm B. Parsons and George A. Peek, Jr., "Land Reform" in H. B. Jacobini and Associates, *Governmental Services in the Philippines* (Manila: 1956), ch. VII.

⁹ See the analyses of the Philippine tax system by Louis Shere, Melville Monk, Albin H. Cross, Wilbur A. Galahan, Ray E. Davis, Lawrence Fleishman, and J. O. McDiarmid in Odell Waldby, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-163.

Interlocking Collaboration in Albany

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ADMINISTRATIVE organization often does not reflect the shifting configurations of governmental problems resulting from new scientific discoveries and techniques, new human interrelationships, new economic and social inventions. New demands for governmental services may not fit into established administrative patterns. In these situations administrators may become aware of the need for and potentials of cross-agency integration of policy and action.

Informal integration goes on, of course, fairly continuously within and often between agencies. Many exchanges of information and much spontaneous cooperation in shared interests in emergent problems are arranged over the telephone or around the luncheon table. *Ad hoc* committees are widely utilized.

Fact-finding and policy formulation in new areas of governmental action often, however, require more formalized arrangements. Since administrative organizations, both in and out of government, tend to become rigidified around traditional clusters of functions informal integration may not insure adequate coordination to meet new interfunctional problems. The creation of effective means of cross-agency cooperation in fact-finding and policy formulation is, therefore, a recurrent concern of the top executive—and often of the legislature.

A good deal of attention has been paid to techniques of interagency relations in Washington. Less analysis of state experience has occurred. Experiments in New York State with

various devices for fact-finding and policy formulation have proved useful in stimulating coordination of administrative activities in several fields. They have also illustrated viable techniques for enhancing legislative-executive cooperation. A brief review of New York experience may suggest some effective means of inducing concerted approaches to new problems, or to old ones in new dress.

The Pattern of Organization

ORGANIZATION for fact-finding and policy formulation in New York is sometimes legislative, sometimes executive, and sometimes joint. Not infrequently, one type is transmuted into another during the course of inquiry and recommendation.

The Legislature has developed two devices: the joint legislative committee and the temporary state commission. Creation of a commission has often been recommended by a Governor, has almost invariably included both legislative and executive representatives, and has often been staffed jointly. Membership and staffing of the joint legislative committee has traditionally been exclusively legislative. As a group these committees have served as a substitute for a legislative council in New York.¹

The executive branch has developed several devices for fact-finding and policy formulation

¹The 1956 *New York Legislative Manual* lists 40 joint legislative committees created or continued by that session of the Legislature, with a combined appropriation of about \$1,300,000. They deserve critical analysis, but fall outside the scope of this paper.

—and, occasionally, for implementing policy by cross-agency action programs. In many cases, of course, fact-finding and policy formulation programs require funds and, therefore, legislative approval; action programs obviously do. Governors of both parties since 1925 have recommended the creation of mixed temporary commissions on a variety of questions; legislative implementation has usually been forthcoming. One major reason for recommending the commission device has been, of course, the Governor's desire to involve the Legislature in policy formulation—to insure, or seek, its receptivity to administrative policy changes.

Again, Governors have initiated conferences, commissions, or committees of several types. The conference has been used to highlight a major policy or administrative problem by drawing on the best unofficial, citizen talent available for public discussion and report. Commissions and committees have had the same purpose on a more continuing basis. Like the conference, they may include ex officio members representing the relevant administrative agencies. Top-level interdepartmental committees, composed entirely of agency heads or their deputies, have also developed during the past thirty years. A few interdepartmental committees at lower administrative levels have crystallized from time to time around emergent interests of line or staff personnel.

Finally, there are several devices which do not fall into any of these categories. The Governor's Committee on Increased Use of Milk (1954) and the Consumer Counsel to the Governor (1955) have become more or less permanent units that have both governmental and interest-group participation. Like the others, these units develop interagency fact-finding and policy formulation and sometimes become important aids to the Governor in the drafting, promotion, and review of bills.

This classification suggests a more precise pattern of fact-finding and policy formulating agencies than exists in Albany. One type may be merged into another as a result of legislative or executive initiative. Awareness of the need to move from fact-finding and policy formulation to action may result in consolidating several limited devices into a permanent agency or a broadened fact-policy-action

device. Sometimes the Legislature may have a joint legislative committee paralleling a unit controlled by the executive. It may establish such a committee before the executive moves to initiate interagency activity, or afterward to check or accelerate the results.

This summary of the pattern, now fairly well developed in Albany, of fact-finding, policy formulation, and, less frequently, limited action provides an introduction to a more detailed review of some of these devices in action. The review covers the period since 1925—just before the reorganization program of Governor Alfred E. Smith went into operation.

The Temporary State Commission

THE temporary state commission is legislatively created. Some are designated "commissions" without a "temporary" prefix; titling has not been standardized. Although usually consisting of both legislative and executive members, some have been exclusively executive.

Defining Memberships

In some cases, the Legislature has designated the agency heads or other administrative officials who were to form the commission. In others, the Governor was authorized to appoint members in addition to the designated officials. Occasionally, the Legislature has provided for nominations by or members from other units of government, especially when a commission was created to study and report on a geographically localized problem. The Commission to Make a Study of the Port of Buffalo and the Niagara Frontier (L. 1927, Ch. 348) included nominees of the Governor, the mayor of Buffalo, the mayors or city councils of other designated cities, and the boards of supervisors of the counties concerned—as well as designated members of the Legislature.

The Legislature has maintained considerable flexibility in methods of selecting both legislative and nonlegislative members. Most frequently, the majority leaders of each house are authorized to appoint legislative members; it is customary for at least one minority-party member from each house to be designated, even when each house is to appoint only two.

Occasionally, especially in the period before 1945, appointment of the legislative members has been by joint action of the principal majority leaders of the two houses (Temporary President of the Senate, Speaker of the Assembly). Even more occasionally, the legislative leaders and the Governor have acted jointly in selecting all members of a commission (e.g. the Commissions on Prison Administration and on the Administration of Justice, L. 1930, Chs. 727, 825).

The size of commissions and the number of legislative and nonlegislative members vary greatly. Ex officio legislative members may or may not be designated in the enabling act.² When the presiding officers are authorized to appoint, the number of appointees varies from two to five or more each. Occasionally, more Assembly than Senate members are authorized, although equality between the houses is the rule. Similarly, on the executive side, the number of appointees varies considerably. When wide citizen or interest-group participation seems desirable, the number of gubernatorial appointees may go to a dozen or more. Many commissions have an executive majority. An equal number appointed by each house and by the Governor is not uncommon.

Exploring Frontiers

The range of subjects assigned to commissions over the past thirty years has been wide. Some have been created for limited purposes, such as preparing plans for highways and other public works (and occasionally supervising their construction and operation) or dealing with such matters as boundary questions, interstate cooperation, and anniversary celebrations. Whether created as commissions or authorities, this group lies outside the scope of this review.³

Many other commissions during the past

² The Legislature acted formally first in 1921 (Senate and Assembly Resolutions, March 23, 25) to include the majority and minority leaders on all joint legislative committees *ex officio*. In 1929, they were added *ex officio* to all commissions. Cf. *Legislative Manual* (1956) 668, for current *ex officio* membership, which now includes also the chairmen of the Senate Finance and Assembly Ways and Means Committees.

³ Cf. Temporary State Commission for Coordination of State Activities, *Public Authorities under New York State* (L.D. 1956, No. 46, Albany: Williams Press, 1956).

thirty years have been concerned with a broad spectrum of fact-finding and policy formulation. They have operated in new areas of inter-departmental concern or in fields where jurisdiction was either nonexistent or competitive. A few examples will illustrate some of the frontiers explored.

Education has been a recurrent concern both of the Legislature and of executive agencies, and fiscal aid to local school systems has been a perennial problem subjected to periodic review. The most recent review was made by the Temporary Commission on Educational Finances created in 1954 (L. 1954, Ch. 143), whose 15 members (later increased to 21) were appointed by the Governor. Most of its recommendations were adopted by the Legislature.⁴ A Commission on T.V. for Educational Purposes (L. 1952, Ch. 479) also was all-executive; 8 administrative officers were designated in the enabling act and the Governor was authorized to appoint 7.

By far the most controversial educational question in New York's recent history arose in the mid-1940's over expanding the state's higher-education facilities. The demand for a state university was widespread and the issue soon developed political, racial, and religious overtones. As not infrequently happens, the creation of a commission proved a useful insulating device. On Governor Dewey's recommendation, a Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University was created (L. 1946, Ch. 353). Its membership included 9 *ex officio* members (including 2 designated administrative officials), 16 members appointed by the Governor, and 5 legislators (2 senators and 3 assemblymen appointed by the respective presiding officers). Its recommendation of a new State University was adopted by the Legislature.

The creation, organization, and activities of this commission well illustrate the interplay of forces, political, social, and economic, which may affect the direction and momentum of state action. The commission device can pro-

⁴ Cf. Temporary Commission on Educational Finances, Final Report (Albany, 1956, unpublished). This item did not appear as a legislative document (L.D.) as do most commission reports. The appointees included no legislative or administrative officials; an assistant commissioner of education is noted as "liaison"; cf. *Legislative Manual* (1955) 632.

vide an effective and orderly outlet for and channeling of pressures which might prove more explosive if thrown directly into legislative or executive action.⁵

Health, mental hygiene, and social welfare programs are increasingly closely interrelated in their impact on the individual and the community. New York State's standards and administrative performance in these areas are among the highest in the country. The Legislature and the executive are interested, irrespective of party, in maintaining and improving both standards and performance. The fringes as well as the core of these fields are continuously under review administratively and legislatively.

Beginning in 1938, the Legislature and successive Governors organized the first of a series of broadly based studies of these fields. Increasing recognition of their interrelations was evident in the representation on the study commissions, and also in the other devices discussed later in this paper. The 1938 Commission on a Long Range Health Program (L. 1938, Ch. 682) was composed of 13 members, 4 appointed by the Governor (each with specified qualifications) and 4 and 5 respectively by the presiding officers of the Senate and Assembly. With the outbreak of war, the title of the commission was changed to Health Preparedness Commission (L. 1940, 1941, Chs. 798, 483), and in 1943 its membership was increased to 17, with the Commissioners of Health and Social Welfare as ex officio members and one additional member named by each of the appointing officials.

In 1944, a Commission on Medical Care was created (L. 1944, 1945, Chs. 387, 8). Its composition again illustrated legislative flexibility in designing commissions and its supervisory interest in their use; 2 members each appointed by the presiding officers of the two houses, 10 by the Governor (4 with specified qualifications), and the Commissioners of Health, Mental Hygiene, and Social Welfare ex officio.

In 1945, a Joint Hospital Board was created, with the same commissioners as its sole mem-

bers. Apparently at first a subcommittee of the Post War Public Works Planning Commission (L. 1942, 1944, Chs. 660, 241), it was first established by Governor Dewey by executive order.⁶ Two years later, the Legislature converted the board into the Joint Hospital Survey and Planning Commission (L. 1947, 1948, Chs. 578, 112), a 25-member advisory council, to be appointed by the Governor, with certain specifications of qualifications. The commission was designated as the state's agency for administering federal hospital (Hill-Burton) grants. Seven regional councils were developed by the commission to aid in local planning—again with professional qualifications for membership specified.

In 1950, a Mental Hygiene Council of 10 members to be appointed by the Governor and the Commissioner of Mental Hygiene was created (L. 1950, Ch. 302) with professional qualifications specified for the gubernatorial appointees. Essentially an advisory body, the council is now a unit within the Department of Mental Hygiene. In 1949, however, a Mental Health Commission was created (L. 1949, 1953, Chs. 733, 68), consisting of the Commissioners of Mental Hygiene, Social Welfare, Health, Correction, and Education. In addition to responsibilities for research, training, and education, it was assigned the allocation of federal grants under the National Mental Health Act. It operated as a unit within the department until 1956, when it was merged with the Interdepartmental Health Resources Board (L. 1956, Ch. 191).

Thus, legislative initiative broadened interdepartmental fact-finding and policy formulating resources of the state on several fronts in these and many other fields. The Legislature insured interlocking professional collaboration in programing action (hospital construction, etc.) and maintained its own participation in the preliminary stages of long-range research and planning. Further integration occurred after 1946, largely through executive initiative, but with ultimate legislative action in the creation of the Interdepartmental

⁵ See O. C. Carmichael, Jr., *New York Establishes a State University* (Vanderbilt University Press, 1955) for a vivid case study of this episode. The political nuances are well portrayed.

⁶ State of New York, *Public Papers of Thomas E. Dewey* (1945) 513-15 (Albany: Williams Press, v.d.). Executive orders of Aug. 2, 1945.

Health Resources Council, discussed below.⁷ The evolution in this field is not an isolated example.

Some Fringe Aspects of the Commission Device

Although many commissions have been created on the recommendations of successive Governors, only once since 1925 has a Governor acted to terminate a commission. Governor Harriman in 1956 vetoed an appropriation item for the Commission to Revise Civil Service Law (L. 1950, Ch. 186), on the ground that its productivity did not justify its continuance (Veto Message, April 15, 1956). After six years of existence and the expenditure of \$270,000, the commission submitted its first bill, which was so severely criticized that the commission requested its withdrawal from legislative consideration. Since the creation and continuance of commissions is a legislative prerogative, frequent gubernatorial interposition would run counter to established legislative-executive relations in Albany.

In the period 1925-1950, 70 commissions were created to consider problems in many fields, among them law and the courts, taxation and fiscal policy, personnel administration, aviation, agriculture, flood control, conservation, civil defense, and rent control. Many have functioned for a decade or more; the word "temporary" in the titles of many is belied in practice. Few, if any, commissions have outlived their usefulness. Legislative participation in most insures a check on any tendencies to administrative inertia. The commission process stimulates continuing inquiry toward unexplored, and often receding, frontiers of fact-finding and policy formulation. Commission mergers, as in the health field, sometimes result when the frontiers become better defined, the appropriate administrative responsibilities more precise.

Of special interest to administrators is the Temporary State Commission on Coordination of State Activities, created in 1946 as a successor to the Economy Commission of 1942 (L. 1942, 1946, Chs. 917, 1002). Consisting of

⁷ See A. D. Bobilin, *The New York State Interdepartmental Health Council* (M.P.A. thesis, Syracuse University, 1953, unpublished), an excellent account of the developments in this area of action.

9 members (the Governor and the presiding officers of the Senate and the Assembly appoint 3 each), it functions as a continuing Little Hoover Commission and its reports provide the basis for much reorganization activity. It is closely linked with the newly created Temporary Commission on the Constitutional Convention (L. 1956, Ch. 814); the director of studies of the first serves as the executive director of the second.

Other facets of the commission device deserve further analysis; some will be considered in discussing executive devices. Flexibility in membership design, use in a wide variety of situations from fact-finding to action, and viability (even though subject generally to annual appropriations) are hallmarks of New York State practice. Through establishment by the Legislature and frequent participation of legislators as members, commissions provide a valuable bridge across the legislative-executive gap, in fact-finding, policy formulation, and, sometimes, in action.

Executive Devices

EXECUTIVE initiative in using a variety of nonstatutory devices is fairly unfettered, since they require no legislative approval—at least until a budget authorization is submitted. The need for fact-finding and policy formulation in areas of cross-agency interest often emerges most immediately from administrative experience, and executive action can be prompt and precise. There have been various examples of this action since 1925.

Conferences and Commissions

Governor Lehman, who had only one year with a Democratic Legislature, and only three more years with one Democratic house, resorted frequently to use of the citizen conference or commission. State administrative personnel were sometimes appointed to both types; secretarial duties were usually performed by the relevant agencies, occasionally with the participation of private organization.

In 1933, for example, Governor Lehman created an "unofficial" Commission to Study the Educational Problems of Penal Institutions, with an original membership of 13, later increased to 19, plus representatives of the

Department of Education and the statutory Prison Administration and Construction Commission.⁸ Another commission of 16 initiated by Governor Lehman (1935) was "to formulate an effective law to afford illegitimate children the protection which the State owes." Its roster included members of interested state agencies as well as lay-group representatives.

Similar commissions were created "to study [civil service] examination" (1939) and "to make a survey of ways and means of reducing the increasing population of the mental institutions of the State" (1940). Both commissions had both official and unofficial members; on each, representation of interest groups was carefully balanced.⁹

Governor Dewey made less frequent use of the commission device. The Crime Commission appointed by him on March 29, 1951, with unofficial membership, became, however, the primary stimulus to the establishment of the unique bi-state authority, the Waterfront Commission (L. 1953—ext. session, Chs. 882, 883).¹⁰

The Governor's conference is essentially an attention-focusing device to stimulate public interest in emergent questions of public policy. A commission can dramatize and enlist interest in a problem of cross-agency concern which no agency might effectively stimulate alone. Given the prestige of gubernatorial initiative, relevant agencies can be drawn into active cooperation and the interest of citizen groups can be recognized and encouraged.

Two examples of the use of this device may be noted. Governor Lehman called a Governor's conference on "crime, the criminal, and society" in 1935. This conference was surrounded with a veritable fanfare of advance publicity to stimulate widespread popular response. The Governor appointed a committee of 35 to assist him in the "preliminary work and preparation of the agenda"; it included federal as well as state officials and representatives of the bench, the police, and interested citizen organizations. He also appointed an ad-

visory committee of 30 on "the Governor's legislative crime program."¹¹

Governor Harriman used the conference device in 1956 to highlight the problems of the aging. The strategy of organization included intensive advance publicity, broad participation by both official (including legislative) and unofficial agencies, and follow-up with specific legislative proposals.¹²

Governor's Interdepartmental Committees

The interdepartmental committee is an administrative device for mobilizing relevant agency resources for conducting interagency fact-finding, policy formulation, or action. It may evolve into more formalized organizations such as statutory commissions or authorities.

Interdepartmental committees in New York State develop on the initiative of the Governor and, at lower levels, out of interests shared by administrative personnel in functional or professional activities. The range of questions susceptible of interdepartmental task-force review or action covers every facet of line and staff services in which cross-agency interests emerge.

Governor Lehman utilized such committees several times. In 1934, he appointed an Interdepartmental State Children's Council that included representatives of six agencies. In 1935, he appointed a technical committee to make recommendations on constructing additional fire-truck trails in the Forest Reserve. In 1942, he created a committee "to formulate a plan for pooling state-owned vehicles."¹³

Governor Dewey utilized interdepartmental committees more broadly than any previous chief executive. His first was the Interdepartmental Committee on Delinquency (1944). It was followed by the Interdepartmental Committee on Migrant Camps, later called Committee on Farm and Food Processing Labor (1946), the Interdepartmental Health Council (1946), the Interdepartmental Committee on

⁸ State of New York, *Public Papers of Herbert H. Lehman* (1933) 377, 707; (1934) 424 (Albany: Williams Press, v.d.).

⁹ *Lehman Papers* (1939) 407, 566; (1940) 375, 645.

¹⁰ *Dewey Papers* (1951) 400, 433.

¹¹ *Lehman Papers* (1935) 406, 407, 705, 722, 791, 803. The Report of the conference is printed in full.

¹² Special Message to the Legislature, Jan. 18, 1956; Feb. 12, 1957. Governor's Conference, *Charter for the Aging* (Albany: Williams Press, 1956).

¹³ *Lehman Papers* (1934) 372; (1935) 406; (1942) 391, 500.

Indian Affairs (1952), and the Committee for Economic Progress (1954).¹⁴

The establishment of each of these committees was accompanied by a message which underlined the importance of interdepartmental coordination in research, policy-charting, and action. Perhaps the best rationale for interdepartmental committees was stated by Governor Dewey in his annual message to the Legislature in 1952:

By such groups, the expertness of several departments has been joined for a single purpose and the data and findings of each of these departments have been made available to all. The tendency to split human needs into tight compartments for administrative convenience has been defeated. Human problems have been met by overall considerations rather than by a fragmentary approach.¹⁵

Governor Dewey initiated several other interdepartmental committees, some of which have continued as units of established agencies. The Personnel Council (now the Council of Personnel Officers) created by executive order in 1945, the Merit Award Board created in 1946 and given legislative status in 1948, and the Personnel Relations Board established by executive order in 1950 all include members from several agencies.¹⁶

Governor Harriman has followed his predecessors in establishing several top-level interdepartmental committees. He revived, in 1955, the Interdepartmental Committee on Farm and Food Processing Labor, adding an Advisory Council that included representatives of interested farm and industrial groups. Three new committees were created during the same year: the Council on the Use of Nuclear Materials, the Committee on Interdepartmental Research (with several subcommittees), and the Interdepartmental Committee on Problems of the Aging. In 1956, a Temporary Committee on the Impact of the Steel

¹⁴ *Dewey Papers* (1944) 629; (1947) 452; (1948) 404; (1946) 97, 100, 112, 614; (1952) 26, 444, 580; press release, July 11, 1954.

¹⁵ *Dewey Papers* (1952) 14.

¹⁶ Cf. *Legislative Manual* (1956) *passim*. The last named has been converted into a Grievance Board by Governor Harriman, with public as well as official membership. The Classification and Compensation Appeals Board (L. 1949, Ch. 355) is in effect an interdepartmental committee of 5 appointed by the Governor, with specified qualifications for its members.

Strike and the Interdepartmental Health Resources Board, created by the Legislature, marked, perhaps, the extremes in the character and the flexibility of such committees. The first was established for a single-purpose, emergency situation, the second for a long-range, multipurpose objective.¹⁷

The second also shows how a single-purpose collaborative device can evolve into an integrated unit with a broad frame of reference. Established as the Interdepartmental Health Council by executive order of Governor Dewey in 1946, and enlarged in 1953, the Interdepartmental Health Resources Board, established by law (L. 1956, Ch. 191), has evolved full cycle. The same evolution may be observed in the Youth Commission. From its origins as an interdepartmental committee in 1941, it emerged as a statutory nine-member commission in 1945. The Legislature made it a permanent unit of the executive department in 1956—with an interdepartmental committee attached.¹⁸

Administrative Interdepartmental Committees

Committees below the Governor's level develop for the most part on an *ad hoc* basis. A few result from administrative direction, such as the recent Joint Hospital Rates Committee, organized by a letter of administration from the director of the budget, to adjust rates for welfare patients in proprietary hospitals.

The Public Information Council, developed during the later years of Governor Dewey's administration, brought together the information officers of most state agencies under the general supervision of the Governor's press secretary. Periodic meetings and recorded decisions on information policies (e.g. clearances) and organization (e.g. allocation of duties for specific services) induced considerable collaboration among this group. The PIC has not been formally continued in the Harriman administration.

Perhaps the most interesting of these *ad hoc* committees is the Interdepartmental Committee on Methods and Procedures. Its member-

¹⁷ Press releases March 22, 1955 and December 4, 1956; October 30, 1955; August 9, 1955; March 8, 1955; July 10, 1956; Jan. 18, 1956. See also, *Legislative Manual* (1955, 1956).

¹⁸ See *Legislative Manual* (1956) 440.

ship now includes representatives of 17 agencies. It has initiated studies that cover a wide range of staff problems of interdepartmental concern.¹⁹

Other interdepartmental committees have developed around specific problems. An informal arrangement, for instance, between the Department of Health and the Bureau of Motor Vehicles provides expert medical advice to the bureau for reviewing cases of possible revocation of drivers' licenses for drunken driving. In some cases, what starts as an informal arrangement may develop into a formalized interdepartmental committee or even a statutory commission. Examples are the State Traffic Commission established in 1936 (Vehicle and Traffic Law, Article 7) and the "advisory councils" (often including citizen and interest group representatives) attached to many agencies.²⁰

New Devices in the Offing?

Governor Harriman has created two new units in his office: a Special Assistant on Problems of the Aging and a Consumer Counsel. Both have developed effective interdepartmental cooperation in promoting conferences and in drafting and supporting legislation in their fields of interest. The first has initiated at least one and the second at least five Governor's conferences on specific problems for possible legislative action. In each case, interdepartmental planning and participation occurred. Through the 1957 legislative session, attempts to establish these units on a permanent basis in the Executive Department have proved unsuccessful.

These units illustrate again the considerable initiative which the Governor possesses for developing new areas of fact-finding and policy formulation. Although peripheral to the existing administrative structure and at first viewed with dubiety by the Legislature as examples of administrative proliferation, they demonstrate the flexibility of form available

to the executive. This flexibility insures a nascent area of policy development against administrative inertia or jurisdictional blockage.

How Interlocking Is Collaboration?

THIS summary of the devices extemporized in Albany over the past thirty years suggests the variety of means for collaboration that have emerged from legislative and executive experimentation. Wide flexibility characterizes these devices—both structurally and functionally. This flexibility is probably greater when the Legislature or the executive acts independently than when they must act in concert. Yet concert is often essential if objectives recognized by both are to be achieved. The gap between the two branches must be bridged, however different political attitudes and ambitions may be. Albany is, indeed, a lively laboratory in which to observe the process.

The upstate-downstate political cleavage is reflected in the dominant Republican complexion of the Legislature. During the thirty-three years from 1925 to 1957 the governorship has been held by a Republican for twelve. During Governor Lehman's administration, the two houses were Democratic for one year (1935) and the Senate for the next three years; otherwise, the Legislature has been continuously Republican. Thus, for 20 of the 33 years, the Legislature and the Governor have been of opposite political parties. What have been the effects of this cleavage?

Politics apparently plays a minor but continuing role. Democratic Governors may have to wait several years to obtain, or may even be denied, legislative approval for proposed commissions or other devices of a more permanent character (e.g. Governor Harriman and his two new units). Democratic Governors may have to improvise their devices more of the time than do the Republicans. And the joint legislative committee—without executive participation—may come into more frequent use; in 1956, 40 were created or continued.²¹

It is, however, evident from the record of

¹⁹ Samuel L. Kessler, "The New York State Interdepartmental Committee on Methods and Procedures, 1947-1956," 16 *Public Administration Review* 90 (Spring, 1956).

²⁰ Cf. *Legislative Manual* (1956) *passim*. One of the more interesting is the Governor's Committee for the Increased Use of Milk, established May 25, 1954, by Governor Dewey and continued by Governor Harriman.

²¹ The Joint Committee on Government Operations, created in 1955, was, in fact, set up as a "watchdog" committee on the activities (and officials) of the Harriman administration.

over three decades traced here that there has been fairly continuous legislative-executive collaboration in using the whole range of devices from fact-finding to action. The Legislature frequently establishes statutory commissions with only executive membership, particularly in areas of technical policy formulation or of action programs when policy has been mutually agreed on. When mixed commissions are created, there may be advantages in joining legislative and executive representatives in the fact-finding and policy-formulating process. Not only is agreement on policy more likely to be developed through such cooperation; different perspectives, the political and the professional, can also be more easily merged.

This is not to say that frictions do not develop. The area of problems of the aging offers an example. A joint legislative committee had been operating in this field for several years before Governor Harriman appointed his spe-

cial assistant and created his interdepartmental committee. Although cordial personal relations exist, the Republican legislative leaders thought they could not afford to let a Democratic Governor play a too-prominent policy role in this politically surcharged field. Despite special messages accompanied by several bills for state action to aid aged groups in 1956 and 1957, the legislative leadership blocked favorable action. Democratic bills were, in fact, "revised" and adopted as Republican policy measures.

Other examples of partisan road blocks to collaboration can no doubt be found, but they appear the exception rather than the rule. The three past decades are remarkable more for the essential will to collaborate, and the frequent willingness of the Legislature to support exclusive executive activity, than for persistent obstruction. Meshing of interests—and actions—takes place in Albany on a wide front and on a broad scale.

A Sense of the Government as a Whole

As an organization the State Department has improved itself in the face of increased size and duties and despite an allergy to management. The administrative problem in a department of foreign affairs is indeed unique. Business cannot be parcelled out in fixed fashion among bureaus. The exact location of responsibility for initiative within the department depends upon each situation at hand. With each shift the resources of the whole department in some fresh combination must be available at the point where the papers of action are moving. The department has wisely rejected the notion that all prime responsibility for action could be reintegrated in the geographical units while the economic and other parts would be merely advisory. Such a fixed distinction between line and staff roles would be unreal. The leadership in multilateral negotiations often belongs to one of the economic units. Negotiations conducted through the council diplomacy of the United Nations system or in other conferences may throw the main preparatory work on some unit in the bureau for international organization affairs. In each case it is the duty of the person charged with responsibility for preparing the decision to know and to seek out those whose advice should be sought and those entitled to review the proposed action. In the event of disapproval, it is his further duty to carry the matter upward for decision. The department's executive secretariat can aid in carrying out this flexible concept of responsibility. The main solvent, of course, lies in energetic men who know the department and have a sense of the government as a whole.

—Arthur W. MacMahon, *Administration and Foreign Policy* (University of Illinois Bulletin, Vol. 54, No. 44, February, 1957), p. 17.

Reviews of Books and Documents

Are Anthropologists and Administrators Natural Enemies?

By EMIL J. SADY, Brookings Institution

ANTHROPOLOGY IN ADMINISTRATION, by H. G. Barnett. Row, Peterson and Co. 1956. Pp. 196. \$5.00.

No matter how tactfully it is phrased, the truth is that anthropologists and administrators do not, on the whole, get along well together." (p. 49) Although this is a belief commonly expressed by anthropologists who have served in a staff capacity in cross-cultural situations, it is somewhat of a surprise to find that Dr. Barnett holds it. The author served as staff anthropologist in the Office of the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands from 1951 to 1953 and was highly respected and relied upon by administrators at all levels and in the various functional fields. It is clear from his book that Dr. Barnett regards the relationship between anthropologists and administrators in the Trust Territory as almost the ideal of what it should be. The fact that he left the Trust Territory believing that some of the causes of conflict which have existed elsewhere were present in the Trust Territory makes his analysis of *Anthropology in Administration* of special importance to those interested in cross-cultural administration. And, since scholarly concern in this country with the role of anthropology in administration has been manifested abundantly and almost exclusively by anthropologists, it is perhaps high time that we in public administration did some soul-searching of our own on the problem.¹

¹I do not by any means have a command of the literature in applied anthropology, but I have found the following references to be particularly useful: *Anthropology Today*, an International Symposium on Anthropology prepared under the chairmanship of A. L. Kroeber (1953), contains essays on "Problems of Application" in different fields and countries. Alexander Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton University Press, 1945) describes the role of anthropologists in

Barnett's distinctive contribution, I believe, lies in his description of the causes of conflict among anthropologists and between anthropologists and administrators over the role of anthropology in colonial-type situations and in his relating the experience of the Trust Territory to that elsewhere.

Highlights of the Book

THE book focuses on the specific experience in the use of anthropologists in the administration of the Trust Territory, but the author provides an interesting backdrop for the reader to assess this experience. Chapter I, entitled "Knowledge and Policy," starts out on the happy, though questionable, note that anthropologists and administrators agree on the importance of ethnographic knowledge for the

the administration of a War Relocation Center and contains generalizations about relations between the governed and governing. *Human Problems In Technological Change*, Edward H. Spicer, editor, Russell Sage Foundation (1952) provides case studies in cross-cultural administration that give the student insights into the interrelation of elements of culture and the value of anthropological intelligence to administrators in cross-cultural situations. Spicer's "Final Report of the Washington Community Analysis Section of the War Relocation Authority" (typescript dated February 18, 1946), an excellent description (which should be published) of the work of anthropologists in the WRA, can be found in the National Archives and in the library of the University of California at Berkeley (classified as No. 248 of the Section's reports). The series of studies on American Indian administration, edited by Laura Thompson and culminating in her *Personality and Government* (Inter-American Indian Institute, 1951), constitute a monument to applied anthropological research which is completed after the administrator who launched it leaves office. Articles on anthropology in administration have been published in *Human Organization*, the *American Anthropologist*, *America Indigena*, *Africa*, and other professional journals, important references to which are footnoted in Barnett's book.

determination of policy in colonial-type situations. He then proceeds to illustrate the variety of ways by which United States agencies, colonial governments, and international agencies have sought to obtain such knowledge. He refers to the use by administrators of "native or partly-native advisors," the training of administrative officers in anthropology so that they become their own investigators and reporters, the establishment of national and international consultative and research bodies as a means of gathering and exchanging information, the organization of special surveys or commissions of inquiry, the employment of consultants for special purposes, the pooling of knowledge about local cultures through administrative handbooks and other means, and the publication of journals and other materials on cross-cultural administration. The chapter concludes with a review of the various roles that anthropologists have assumed in colonial areas and in similar situations (e.g. War Relocation centers and United States Indian reservations).

Chapter II starts out with the statement: "All things considered, anthropologists have not made the showing in native administration that might be expected from the nature of their materials and their specialized training." (p. 48) He attributes this situation to the failure of anthropologists to agree among themselves and with administrators on a mutually satisfactory working arrangement. He says that the differences between anthropologists and administrators ". . . arise from irreconcilable preconceptions and assumptions which are legacies from dissimilar backgrounds" (p. 49) and that somewhat the same differences divide the anthropologists. The author identifies the following obstacles to cooperation between anthropologists and administrators:

1. The detachment of many anthropologists from the actual problems of the people they study. Administrators tend to deprecate the value of ethnologies and similar studies which fail to focus on any practical problem. Moreover, the conflict among anthropologists over whether research on practical problems contributes to the study of man, and can therefore be regarded as scientific, divides anthropologists and aggravates the difficulty of some in adapting to administrative situations.

2. The scientific interest of anthropologists

in bizarre, dead, and "primitive" humanity. Administrators, like the general public, are likely to regard all anthropologists as oddities and are not likely to summon their services for work involving partly westernized peoples. There are sound scientific reasons for the special interest which anthropologists have in "primitive" societies. An important one is that in order to arrive at an understanding of culture in general they seek to study as wide a range of cultural systems as possible, since each system represents an experiment in human adaptation under special conditions. With cultural diversity rapidly becoming blurred as a result of increased mobility of people, things, and ideas, some anthropologists feel an urgency to record the distinctive cultures which still exist.

3. The emotional involvement of anthropologists in "primitive" cultures. They "study primitives because they like them. . . . It has been alleged that they have a quixotic fixation on the strange beauty they find in worlds outside their own" and this, more than anything else, accounts for their "self-assumed protectorate over the primitive realm." (pp. 59-60)

4. The widespread belief that anthropologists not only are enamored with primitive life but also want to conserve it. Westernized leaders often regard anthropologists as opposed to progress and oppose their employment. The author explains that the concern of most anthropologists is not with the preservation of primitive cultures but with the avoidance of "cultural imperialism"—an objective endorsed by the American Anthropological Association.² They usually see personal and social values of tribal peoples impaired by the substitution of alien for traditional authority.

5. The distrust of one another. Anthropologists generally believe that colonial government policies are inimical to the interests of indigenous peoples. Administrators are skeptical of the scientific status of anthropological studies and sometimes fear the consequences of these studies. Where they work side by side with anthropologists, administrators sometimes fear being displaced by them.

² Statement on Human Rights, submitted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights by the Executive Board by the American Anthropological Association, 49 *American Anthropologist* 539 (1947).

6. Disagreement over the anthropologist's objectivity or lack of it. The administrator regards it as his right and duty to make policy and resists intrusions by the anthropologist into the policy field. On the other hand, the code of ethics of the Society for Applied Anthropology states that the anthropologist "must take responsibility for the effects of his recommendations, never maintaining that he is merely a technician unconcerned with the ends. . . ." Moreover, anthropologists believe they have special aptitudes as social planners. The author says that "the failure of the anthropologist to consistently segregate technical recommendations from personal convictions has not strengthened his claims to scientific detachment. . . ." (p. 82)

7. The lack of career opportunities for applied anthropologists. The employment arrangements for anthropologists are often temporary and do not contribute to career advancement, which depends upon academic accomplishments. Some administrators believe that the employment of an anthropologist involves an artificial segregation of functions in that it assigns to one person what should be a common obligation of all personnel—namely to understand the people being governed.

To complete the sketch of the book, Chapters III and IV describe the evolution of the role of anthropologists in the administration of the Trust Territory government and illustrate the types of problems on which the advice of anthropologists was sought. Briefly, there is a staff anthropologist in the Office of the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, whose headquarters are located at Guam. There is also an anthropologist at each of five district centers who performs staff functions for the district administrator. Although informal communication and consultations are carried on among anthropologists, instructions are transmitted via line channels. Although anthropologists have sometimes become involved in operating responsibilities, a concerted effort has been made to free those at the district level of such responsibilities so that they can keep abreast of changing attitudes and conditions among the islanders and "maintain, insofar as possible in the eyes of the people, a neutral position with respect to

administration policy and action." (p. 103) In addition to advising on practical problems, the anthropologist's job description says he is to perform "anthropological research which results in significant generalizations relative to the complex biological and cultural relationships of the indigenes, the impact of exploiting or governing races, the cultural patterns of development to be expected under existing conditions or under modification of the social milieu" (p. 93)—slightly more than the usual mouthful found in job descriptions.

The author's illustrations of practical problems and the advice therein given by anthropologists provide insight into the value premises and technical assumptions of the anthropologist. However, he neither describes the consequences of following or of ignoring this advice, nor provides any other basis for evaluating the work of the anthropologists.

The final chapter assesses the role of the anthropologist in the Trust Territory by considering whether the alternative means of gathering information discussed in Chapter I would be as effective. He concludes that they would not.

Meaning for Cross-Cultural Administration

Now for an analysis of the book and its significance to those of us interested in cross-cultural administration.

First, it should perhaps be emphasized that the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is by no means typical of the administrative situations in which anthropologists can make a distinctive contribution. Although anthropologists have been called in quite frequently to make studies of specific problems, with freedom to apply scientific criteria and methods, only in rare instances—notably in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands—have anthropologists been integrated into the structure of government as staff aides to provide information on problems as they arise. Many of the generalizations of the author regarding the role and value conflicts of applied anthropologists would not apply to the important functions which local anthropologists can perform and have performed in Mexico, India, and other democratically oriented countries which have tribal societies in their population. For

* 10 *Human Organization* 32 (1951), quoted at p. 81.

example, the government of Mexico has employed anthropologists successfully in the preparation of teaching materials in Indian languages, in identifying cultural factors bearing on the causes and treatment of disease, and in reconstructing archaeological sites not only for scientific purposes but also to strengthen national pride and to stimulate tourism. Problems in cross-cultural administration do not end when a dependent territory achieves self-government or independence, but they do change substantially—unless the white settlers dominate as they do in South Africa and except perhaps in those parts which continue to be ruled as dependencies (e.g., Quintana Roo in Mexico and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in India).

The author's analysis of anthropology in administration relates primarily to situations in which the people being governed differ in culture and in race from those governing and in which the people governed have neither self-government nor other effective means of expressing their own views. The War Relocation Authority, confronted by such a situation in the centers in which Japanese-Americans were held during World War II, devised a system for using anthropologists in the centers and in Washington which is fundamentally the same as that later developed in the Trust Territory. Some of the author's generalizations would also apply to highly authoritarian-type situations where there are no racial differences and probably also where there are no cultural differences between the governing and the governed. A vast part of humanity is encompassed within the author's model but it is not by any means the universe of anthropology in administration.

Moreover, the human geography of the Trust Territory, which provides the crucible for the author's observations, is also distinctive in that greater caution may be necessary in designing government measures in some parts of it than would be desirable or possible in most areas. For example, the introduction of western values, things, and other elements into the simple culture of the forty-four islanders on Ngulu, a tiny atoll located 100 miles from its nearest neighbors, could cause the islanders to become dissatisfied with life on their atoll and to lose the skills required to eke out a livelihood on it. Ideally, of course, the people them-

selves should make the choices on the basis of the same information regarding the alternatives available and the implications of each as the administrator himself has in making choices. But the processes for such consultation have not been fully developed. Moreover, the implications of the alternatives available to the administrator may not be comprehensible to the islanders, in view of their limited experience, and they may involve the interests of other groups. In any case, it is a fact that Trust Territory administrators have a measure of control over the nature and degree of culture contact between Ngulu and the outside world and have exercised it in such a way that there has been little to disturb the traditional way of life there. The philosophical and practical grounds for similarly sheltering groups from culture contact who live in large land areas, including some islands in the Trust Territory, would not be so convincing.

There is a tendency among anthropologists and administrators toward uniformity in their respective approaches towards culture change, and where there are groups, such as in the Trust Territory, at widely different points in the acculturation spectrum, this tendency provides the basis for conflict either between anthropologists and administrators or, where they have the same approach, between them on the one hand and the more progressive islanders on the other. My impression is that there has been, on the whole, relatively little difference in the values and approach of the anthropologists and administrators in the Trust Territory, certainly far less than there has been and is in relation to federal Indian policy (contrary to the author's rosy view of that relationship). In view of the bearishness of Trust Territory anthropologists toward culture change (e.g., discouraging travel by Trust Territory islanders to Guam), the opposition of the government to outside capital investment for development of industries, and the restrictions on grounds of security (e.g., preventing Japanese fishing vessels from landing fish anywhere in the Trust Territory), the scope for development must seem limited indeed to the more acculturated islanders such as those on Koror (a bustling capital city and fishing center when the territory was under Japanese mandate), and may be a cause of dissatisfaction among them. The fact that the

author did not assess the consequences of anthropological advice is particularly regrettable in the case of the community development center at Koror, which he describes as an idea conceived by American officials and sold to the people. Since I understand that the center has been something less than a success, one is left to speculate whether the anthropologists counseled against the approach followed (which the author seems to acknowledge as being faulty) and whether the approach significantly affected the result.

The employment of applied anthropologists is no substitute for self-expression and self-government. The author does not say that it is and I know he does not believe that it is, but his dim view of local people as advisers and his description of the role of the anthropologist as a channel of communication between the administrators and the people may be so interpreted. For example, the functions of the district anthropologists were founded on the assumption ". . . that for a democratic government such as the one the administration represented it was essential to have knowledge of the attitudes of the people governed, and that the anthropologists were singularly qualified to get this information" (p. 106); ". . . the anthropologist was to serve as a vehicle of communication between the Micronesians and the administration . . ." (p. 101); and ". . . in any system distinguished by a unilaterally established authority . . . some third party is indispensable . . . to assess the reactions of those without administrative representation; the more remote and authoritarian the unilateral controls, the more this is so." (p. 176) The people of Guam (which is the geographic hub but not a part of the Trust Territory) do not want mediation by anthropologists not only because of the stigma of primitivism it might convey, as the author notes, but also because they want to manipulate, not be manipulated by, the executive arm of government, and elected legislators are available to represent the views and interests of the people.

The United States system of governing unorganized territories and similar areas vests extraordinary power in appointive personnel. And, nowhere under the American flag do

civil servants have such authority to formulate laws, policies, and programs with as little participation, guidance, and control by elected officials as in the Trust Territory. They are in effect the arbiters of how, how much, and what kind of authority is transferred to the people. I believe that this situation increases the likelihood both of value conflicts among administrators, anthropologists, and the people and of unnecessary delays in the transference of power. Moreover, it aggravates the danger that the injunction to respect local culture will be interpreted as requiring a slowing down of the process of culture change and will lead to an underestimation of the adjustability of cultures to new aspirations and opportunities. Trust Territory administrators are able and are dedicated to the islanders' welfare and the counsel afforded by anthropologists is essential to them. My hunch is that once representative or even partially representative bodies are established at territorial and district levels and vested with legislative authority, the conflicts over values and roles experienced by anthropologists in the Trust Territory will not differ significantly from those of social scientists generally in government.

I close this review of Dr. Barnett's thought-provoking book by noting a possible inference which we in public administration might draw from the concern expressed by anthropologists that they and their science may be employed in ways that will be injurious to so-called primitive peoples. We might, ostrichlike, assume that they are worried only about the policies of foreign governments. Or, we could face up to the possibility that they are concerned also that American cross-cultural administrators are either not so sensitive as they should be to cultural and human values or have failed to develop techniques for protecting these values while promoting others. Both may be at fault for not dedicating themselves more fully to devising means of self-expression and of self-government by the peoples themselves. Do we need a code of ethics in cross-cultural administration? I doubt it, but we might well explore among ourselves and with anthropologists how we may better serve peoples who are "not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world."

Discovering the Politically Feasible

By NORTON E. LONG, Michigan State University

POLITICS, PLANNING AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST;
THE CASE OF PUBLIC HOUSING IN CHICAGO,
by Martin Meyerson and Edward C. Banfield. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press,
1955. Pp. 353. \$5.00.

MARTIN MEYERSON AND EDWARD BANFIELD have produced a richly rewarding set of reflections on the struggle to select public housing sites in Chicago. All too rarely have participant observers in the making of public policy been able to escape moralizing rationalizations and transmute the hurly-burly of political conflict into meaningful experience that can provide knowledge for us all. Within the limits of the possible, this book comes near to accomplishing the task of achieving a fair and plausible description of the actors, motives, forces, and institutions through which the confused battle of the public housing sites was fought.

The cast of this drama is rich and varied; it includes confirmed and zealous members of the public housing fraternity ranging from those in the local authority to their coprofessionals in Washington. It includes their allies—an agency-created conference, ideological comrades in arms, politicos brought up in the New Deal-Fair Deal era, officials of B'nai B'rith scenting racism in opposition to public housing, the aging Marshall Field senior and his *Sun Times*, a score or two of Protestant ministers, liberals from upper-class wards unthreatened by public housing, a few real estate men and builders for various reasons sympathetic to public housing. The opponents comprise the small home owners, the local businessmen of the neighborhood chambers, their wives boozing public housers in the City Council chamber and the members of the council from the lower- and lower-middle-class wards.

The authors depict the political plight of the Housing Authority, previously secure in the strong-arm support of Mayor Kelly, the boss of Chicago, confronted with a reform mayor, Martin H. Kennelly, unwilling and perhaps unable to control the council.

With the loss of the effectiveness of her New Dealer, public relations go-between, Milton

Shufro, the professional director-able, righteous, and dogmatic—is left isolated from effective communication with the new center of political power. As so often happens, the price of political purity turns out to be programmatic sterility.

The whole account of the dialectic among professional staff, nonprofessional and only partially committed commission, a vacillating and ideologically opposed mayor, the Big Boys of the council, the "right-minded" council minority, the neighborhood leaders, the crusading newspaper, the Negro groups, the rich and poor and their leaders is a rewarding introduction to a many-faceted political process.

Communication failure is apparent from the start. Gross failure to estimate amount and adequacy of power and to estimate the motivation of supposed supporters is a price of the political isolation of the authority. Vague ideological ends hamper clarity in the analysis of objectives that relate only to housing. The inability of liberal elements and conservatives to face squarely the issue of neighborhood segregation hid the inarticulated, but major, premise of controversy—though even here, the realism of the authors makes them concede that obscuring issues may serve the useful purpose of keeping the peace till time wears down the sharp edges of controversy.

The study shows the useful function of the combination of machine centralization for many issues and ward decentralization for others. It makes the bold thesis that, given the breadth of representation of the ward machine process, the identification by the Big Boys of the public interest with their concept of the party interest is far from the worst version of that elusive concept. The power of the almost self-constituted local neighborhood leaders and the impotence or apathy of the Hunter elite on this important citywide issue will shock the disciples of Hunter and Mills.

Perhaps the discovery that Negro and other minorities find values in the ecology of their slums and resent being pushed into antisepic blocs of public housing, however good for them in the eyes of the housers, will come as

another betrayal to that long suffering set of missionaries. The disinterest and opposition of many Negro leaders, pastors as well as businessmen, may open some eyes to the existence of multiple values.

In sum, this book provides a rich piece of vicarious experience for those who haven't traversed the political jungle; and for those who have, it provides reflection on the varied and interrelated elements that confront all who travel that way.

Its sane realism about the multiplicity of values, and its willingness to grant them all weight in the scales that calculate the public interest, is a wholesome antidote to the narrow and self-righteous dogmatism of the professional, the purist, and the political doctrinaire of left or right. Here, indeed, knowledge of all the parties at interest and their values is the beginning of the discovery of the politically feasible within the valued objectives of the whole society.

P I & E

There are two myths about being a good administrator to which most of us cravenly pay lip service. One is that the top of a good administrator's desk is always clear.¹ Another is that a good administrator quits promptly at five, leaves his worries at the office, and relaxes and broadens himself by pursuing hobbies completely unrelated to his job. The clear-desk-top fetish leads to crammed and jammed desk drawers. The "outside hobby" adage is responsible for most of the "Walking" entries in official biographies.

The following book notes have been prepared, first, on the heretical assumption that the real hobby of men who teach or practice administration is reading about administration. Assumption No. 2—which is certainly not heretical in an age when textbooks and agency reports contain cartoons, color illustrations, and everything except free lunches to make reading painless—is that reading about administration can be pleasurable, and that it is worth noting in this journal from time to time books or articles which are (hence the initials) PROVOCATIVE, INFORMATIVE, AND ENJOYABLE.



Definitely a PI&E book is Dwight Waldo's *Perspectives on Administration* (University of Alabama Press, 1956). It would be an insensitive man who could finish these 137 erudite, witty, and insightful pages without seeing administration in several new lights, and it may take months before these lights stop whirling around in your head. In the first of these lec-

tures Waldo asks his audience in general and natural scientists in particular to stop looking at the limitations and imperfections of government administration for a moment and to consider instead what an extraordinary accomplishment present-day administration represents. In succeeding chapters he reviews the insights and research possibilities that come into view when administration is looked at from the standpoints of current administrative theories and from the perspectives of history, literature, and the several social sciences.

In these lectures Waldo continues, in a much more mellow fashion than in *The Administrative State*, to connect the doctrines and experiences of United States administration with the discoveries and philosophies of the rest of human culture ranging from Alexander the Great to Robert Frost. For those who keep their art and philosophy in one side of their heads and their administrative thinking in the other, Waldo's linkages may seem shocking at first, and even embarrassingly incongruous, as if Gibbon were asked to write notes on a weekly staff meeting or Charlemagne brought in as a consultant to prepare a vacation roster. Soon, however, the aptness of Waldo's connections, his lucidity, and his common-sense grasp both of administrative reality and of history and philosophy encourage the reader to break down the barrier that separates his book learning from his experience in coping with governmental problems, to the mutual stimulation of both compartments.

This is a genial, a permissive, even a cautious book. The author sets out the various perspectives and their potentialities, but he does not attempt to weight the alternatives—

¹ Only fanatical aficionados carry clear-deskmanship to the point of having no desk at all, and none to the logical extreme of having no administrator at all.

toleration which is perhaps permissible in a country as rich in resources and in numbers of graduate students as the U. S. Taken with his earlier writings, the book reinforces the impression that we are fortunate to have Waldo to connect the couplings and airhoses between the Administration Local and the mainline expresses of human culture, even if each of these fast trains appears to be headed in a different direction on tracks of its own special gauge.



In a chapter on literature and administration Waldo lists a host of plays and novels from a collection he has been accumulating for some time. NORTON LONG (Michigan State) sends us brief reviews of two paper-back novels he has read recently that deserve to be added to Waldo's list. We quote:

C. S. Forester, *The Good Shepherd* (Grosset, 1956): This study of the loneliness of command on convoy escort deals with all the perplexities of interallied command, maintenance of morale under stress, and the agony of decision against a history of personal defeat. The game theorists will find here abundant flesh and blood to bring life to the skeleton of the minimax.

Pat Frank, *Forbidden Area* (Lippincott, 1956): All those who have been driven wild by the imperviousness of upper echelons to unpleasant facts of life, developed by staff, will enjoy Frank's thriller as the Intentions of the Enemy Group pit themselves against the complacent incredulity of upper echelons in a race to prevent atomic disaster. Not a little of Frank's yarn is reminiscent of the intelligence snafu leading up to the Battle of the Bulge. The perennial problem of staff in conveying painful information to upper levels, the career danger in seeming shrill, and the fatal tendency of top-level views to be merely mirrored back are given imaginative and convincing treatment.

These books will provide at least vicarious company for the administrative practitioner. Like the Gesell volumes on baby care, they show that faults of one's own administratively superior brats are not unique; in fact, may be artistically typical.

For the teacher, the paper-back administra-

tive novel provides a welcome escape from the bare bones of the text and the pomposity of empty principles. Even vicarious administrative experience is better than none at all, and these books can make a dull subject come alive with meaning in significant action.



HERBERT KAUFMAN (Yale) reviews an older military novel:

Out of World War I came a gripping novel that should be of interest to all students of administration, not only as a distinguished work of art, a profoundly moving and skillfully told tale, and a deeply insightful series of character portraits, but also as an authentic and revealing case study in administrative relationships. Arnold Zweig's *The Case of Sergeant Grischa* (Viking, 1927) has received little attention in the literature of public administration or even of military administration, yet today, thirty years after it was written, despite its fictional character, it rings as true and is fully as instructive as it was the day it appeared. Perhaps, after all, there are some constants in the shifting world of administrative behavior!

The crux of the story lies in a conflict in the German Army between the commander of a local military area and the commander of a division temporarily stationed in his territory—a clash between an area officer and a functional officer. An escaping Russian war prisoner falls into the hands of field-army troops, with whom he quickly ingratiates himself. Ambiguities about his identity, however, lead the garrison commander to the conclusion that he must be executed as a spy; the officers and the men of the division, on the other hand, stoutly maintain that he is merely an escapee who should be returned to his prison camp. The controversy mounts in intensity, and the life of a simple Russian soldier becomes an issue that climbs through the levels of the hierarchy to the Emperor himself; the book is essentially a recounting of the negotiations and maneuverings of the two factions as they reach upward for the support of their respective superiors and outward for the aid of their social classes and political allies.

All in all, it is a marvelous study of bureaucratic politics and bureaucratic psychology.

Zweig's sensitive portrait of the old, aristocratic, yet basically liberal and humane, division commander has become a well-known stereotype, but the picture of the General's principal adversary (the superior of the area commander)—a man of great organizing ability, ruthless, wily, revered by his subordinates, content with obscurity from the public eye, satisfied to work behind the scenes, but drunk with the lust for power, and slowly assembling a vast personal, administrative empire—is still fresh and savage, and chillingly familiar to observers of local government in this country.

As the combat rages, Sergeant Grischa virtually disappears from the minds of the combatants as a man whose life depends on the outcome of their struggles; for them, he becomes only a symbol. But, because Zweig constantly brings the reader back to Grischa from the conferences and communications of the military bureaucracy, he maintains a dimension in his narrative that enriches it immensely, a dimension sometimes neglected in more academic reports.

To be sure, some readers will find some of Zweig's literary devices a little too contrived to make the book attractive to them for teaching or training, and the translation is occasionally somewhat labored. Nevertheless, as a vehicle for vicarious administrative experience, as preparation for life in any large-scale organization, as a point of departure for discussions of the administrative process, and as a delightful and enlightening experience all by itself, this is a book most readers of this journal will find it worth while to read or re-read.



JOHN HONEY (Carnegie Corporation) comments on Edwin O'Connor's *The Last Hurrah* (Little, Brown & Co., 1956):

This story of the final campaign of Frank Sheffington, on and off for forty years mayor of a great, unnamed city which could have been Boston, serves as a vehicle for revealing one old-time boss in most of his ramifications—perhaps a more lovable, intelligent, and humane version than some that can be recalled from real life, but nonetheless a boss who is not above using blackmail (for worthy public purposes, of course, and on predatory and stupid

adversaries); not above raising a toast to an old party faithful who had once held the record for consecutive voting (17 times before three in the afternoon on one election day). But he was also a boss who, while he lacked any semblance of deference to majority will, nonetheless knew that it took a majority of votes to put and keep him in office and that people vote for the man who lends them a hand when they need it.

When the Sheffington political edifice came crashing down, neither the boss nor his henchmen could understand what had happened. But a young opposition liberal explained it: "Roosevelt. . . . He destroyed the old-time boss. . . . The old-time boss was strong because he held all the cards. If anybody wanted anything—jobs, favors, cash—he could only go to the boss. . . . What Roosevelt did was to take the handouts out of local hands. A few little things like Social Security, Unemployment Insurance, and the like—that's what shifted the gears."

Political scientists these days are fascinated with the "new urban problems" which, at least in most respects, are not newer than the urban problems of the past 50 years—just bigger. As a sensible and rather basic means of getting at the dynamics of urban political life, more and more scholars these days are trying to uncover the power patterns in urban centers. O'Connor's book is at least highly suggestive background reading for such scholarly endeavors—perhaps the next best thing to a year on a job in City Hall.

Then, too, there is fodder for the political moralist—a breed O'Connor dusts off lightly in one or two trenchant paragraphs. Sheffington, the rogue, loves his city and his people, and while the mayor probably loves himself best of all, O'Connor draws him as a generous and humane person. Yet beneath all his actions is a deep strain of amorality—a never-posed question as to who, in our society, should decide what is good and what is evil. Sheffington is the law. His breed of man, in its singleness of purpose, brings to thought another equally dedicated and self-oriented species, the art-for-arts-sake hero of Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Politics and art have much in common; more perhaps than anyone has yet bothered to acknowledge. But whether there

is greater room in art than in politics for Sheffington's and Joyce's kind of a-morality, or whether such a-morality is an essential ingredient of the strong political leader, is worth some thought.

Among journal articles and professional papers, there is space to note two. The bound working papers for the March conference at Syracuse on education and training for overseas service, entitled *Americans at Work Abroad*, include a number of articles that deserve wide circulation these days when so many people in administration are either going on overseas missions, replacing colleagues who have gone on overseas missions, or trying to understand the conversation of friends who have returned from overseas missions. Included in the collection is a penetrating and provocative analysis of the adjustment problems of different administrative personality and occupational types by Dr. Mottram Torre, psychiatric consultant to the Medical Department of the UN. The typical adjustment problems he describes will ring familiar alarms in the ears of domestic administrators. The Syracuse collection also contains a stimulating paper by Rowland Egger which includes this admonition:

We cannot continue indefinitely to keep on repeating the first year of our [overseas] programs. Sometimes we have got to get on to the second and third and tenth and twentieth year. . . . This can only be achieved if a substantial central core—and the central core of a 100,000-odd labor force is itself likely to run into the thousands—thinks and acts like a permanent professional organization. This is a task in creative institution building right at home that fully matches . . . anything which an overseas operator will ever be called upon to confront.

Anyone interested in keeping up with the realities of British central administration cannot afford to miss D. N. Chester's valuable article, "The Treasury, 1956," in the Spring, 1957, issue of *Public Administration*, the journal of the Royal Institute of Public Administration, 76a New Cavendish Street, London, W.1. (Annual subscription \$5.00) Chester describes the recent changes at the top

level of the permanent civil service and, in commenting on Professor Sam Beer's recent volume, *Treasury Control* (Oxford, 1956), reviews some of the changes in that pivotal department's operating policies. The same issue contains an article, "The Health of Executives," by V. C. Medvei of the Treasury medical staff, which reviews the British approach to problems of executive strain and breakdown. The British quarterly is consistently rich in thoughtful, common-sense articles on basic administrative problems. Its writers are frequently tart about U. S. writing on administration, chastising us, usually quite justifiably, for excessive jargon and academic gobbledegook.

Provocative, Informative, and Entertaining certainly apply to Sir Arthur Bryant's recent book, *The Turn of the Tide* (Doubleday, 1957), which is based on the daily diary entries of the British counterpart of our General Marshall during World War II, Field Marshal (now Viscount) Alanbrooke. Rarely has any British official (or any American this side of Harold Ickes) published as frank and as subjective an account of his daily reactions to his work. The subjective quality of these diaries would make them valuable quite apart from the fact that they describe major conflicts of strategy between the British and ourselves, between General Marshall and Admiral King, and between Field Marshal Alanbrooke and his chief, Winston Churchill. Some time in his life, every senior administrator is confronted with the task of taming an excessively idealistic or enthusiastic chief and getting him to act as the administrator thinks the facts require. But few men have ever had to play this animal-taming role with a superior as ebullient, as imaginative, as personally forceful, and as stubborn as Churchill. Alanbrooke's somewhat self-pitying account of his efforts to keep Churchill from starting a new invasion in a new place every day, to hold him to deploying Britain's limited resources only on the strategic offensives that Alanbrooke had mapped out, and to keep such ideas as making aircraft carriers out of ice from running away with him will prove fascinating to anyone with an eye for the role of personality in administra-

tion, and doubly so for those who are interested in the interplay of power and influence between political leaders and their chief career advisers.

The book also highlights the contributions of go-betweens, particularly the indispensable role of Field Marshal Sir John Dill, head of the British military mission in Washington. When, at the Casablanca meetings, both Alanbrooke and Marshall appeared to despair of reaching agreement on a common strategy, Dill, who was trusted and admired by both, went to Alanbrooke's room:

We sat on my bed after lunch and he went through all the points on which we had agreement and then passed to those where we were stuck, asking me how far I would go to get agreement. When I replied that I would not move an inch, he said, "Oh yes, you will. You know that you must come to some agreement with the Americans

and that you cannot bring the unsolved problem up to the Prime Minister and the President. You know as well as I do what a mess they would make of it." He then put up a few suggestions for agreement and asked me if I would agree to his discussing these with Marshall. I had such implicit trust in his ability and integrity that I agreed. . . . Thereupon Dill proceeded to see Marshall before the meeting to discuss these suggestions. I am certain that the final agreement being reached was due more to Dill than to anybody else. (pp. 550-51)

There is also a pleasant little verse prepared by one of the secretariat of the British Chiefs of Staff Committee:

And so while the great ones depart to their dinner
The Secretary stays, growing thinner and thinner,
Racking his brains to record and report
What he thinks that they think that they ought to
have thought.

-E. A. B.

Research Notes

Compiled by JOHN C. HONEY

Director, Government Studies Program

National Science Foundation

Special Commission on Audit of State Needs, Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Governor Foster Furcolo of Massachusetts has recently opened the offices of a new state agency, the Special Commission on the Audit of State Needs. The agency will be concerned with over-all research on state problems, and has begun work on the needs of Massachusetts in the field of higher education. Several other areas are to be surveyed by the commission, including public health, mental health, problems of the aging, transportation, and economic growth.

The organization of the commission follows the suggestions of the Council of State Governments, which are set forth in its publication *Planning Services for State Governments*. It is designed to provide basic information on public problems, to suggest definite policy alternatives to deal with these problems, and to coordinate efforts to reach the objectives set by the Governor and the Legislature with both economy and efficiency.

NOTE: Readers of *Public Administration Review* are invited to report items of research in progress through Research Notes. A report should include information on such matters as the conceptual framework of the study, its aims, tentative conclusions, anticipated uses, sources of information, principal investigators, and expected date of completion.

Research Notes are compiled by three members of the staff of the National Science Foundation: Mrs. Kathryn S. Arnow, John C. Honey, and Herbert H. Rosenberg. Reports should be addressed to John C. Honey, Director of Governmental Studies, National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D. C.

The commission is a bipartisan, executive-legislative body. Its chairman is Francis X. Lang, the state commissioner of administration and finance. Four other members were appointed by Governor Furcolo: Professor Seymour Harris of Harvard; J. William Belanger, president of the state CIO; Robert Sullivan, prominent Boston attorney; and Mrs. Carl Spector, a Brookline civic leader. Five legislators were selected by leaders of the Senate and House.

The commission appointed as its executive director John P. Mallan, formerly of the Government Department of Smith College. Mr. Mallan is assembling a research staff that includes full-time workers and consultants. The commission headquarters is at 367 Boylston Street, Boston 16, Massachusetts.

Urban Renewal Demonstrations

The Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, through its Urban Renewal Administration, is making grants for research and demonstration projects to assist cities and other public bodies in developing more effective methods of treating urban slums and blight. Grants may not exceed two-thirds of the cost of a project; the remainder is contributed by the public body conducting the project.

Eighteen projects are currently under way and may generally be described as follows: four relate to the development of citizen understanding of and participation in urban re-

newal; three are principally concerned with urban renewal planning and the development of standards and criteria; four deal with the organization of urban renewal agencies; two are primarily concerned with project development or renewal agencies; three relate to financial aspects of urban renewal; and two are concerned with the relocation of persons, families, and businesses.

To illustrate the nature of the research and demonstration, brief descriptions of four of the projects follow:

Department of Commerce of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The development and testing in the Greater Boston area of techniques of neighborhood organization useful in assuring cooperation of tenants, owners, and businessmen in planning and undertaking urban renewal activity. The project will outline the organizing problems faced by the city administrator, suggest methods of solution, and evaluate procedures in terms of their contribution to effective citizen participation in the urban renewal process. Particular emphasis will be placed on means by which communication between citizens and officials regarding urban renewal can be made effective.

University of California. An analysis of the ways in which local governments organize to carry out urban renewal activities. Approximately twenty-five cities, representing geographical and size differences, will be covered in the study. The demonstration will cover executive policy-making, direction, and coordination and the operating interrelations of local redevelopment agencies, housing agencies, planning commissions, building, health, and fire departments, and public works, school, recreation, welfare, and other departments engaged in or contributing to project or communitywide urban renewal activities. The study will also attempt to clarify the problem of renewal organization in metropolitan areas by comparing programs in urban areas of different size and complexity.

City of Detroit, Michigan. An analysis of financial and related aspects of (1) a complete redevelopment and (2) a complete conservation program in the city of Detroit, and the application of such analyses to a long-range capital improvement program. Included in the study will be an examination of the finan-

cial relationship of urban renewal to the other elements of the city's capital improvement program. In order to achieve these objectives, major policy requirements will be reviewed and an attempt will be made to correlate the findings and establish an appropriate balance between redevelopment and conservation.

City of Detroit, Michigan. The description, analysis, and reporting of the methods used by the city of Detroit in planning and executing the city's pilot rehabilitation project in an urban renewal area. The demonstration will include a description and evaluation of planning principles, methods, and techniques used in the pilot project as well as a description of the major stages of the urban renewal process.

Further information about this program may be obtained by writing to the HHFA, Urban Renewal Administration, Washington 25, D. C.

Cultural and Psychological Factors in Technical Assistance Programs

At Stanford University, a long-range research program under the general direction of professor Robert A. Walker, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, is exploring the cultural and psychological factors in the administration of technical assistance programs. The program was launched in 1953 with a grant from the Social Science Research Committee at Stanford supplemented by Fulbright awards and a Ford Foundation Area Studies grant. Two of the studies are the product of extensive field work in the countries involved.

Richard F. Crabbs, currently with the Department of Government at Indiana University, spent two years in India obtaining material for his study of "Administrative Relationships of Point Four Personnel in the Indian States." In studying the interpersonal relationships of American technical assistants in India, Professor Crabbs interviewed both Indian and American personnel at various levels of operation. The principal concern was to learn where and how agricultural technicians (the principal technical assistance agents in India from 1952-1954) fit into the Indian scene.

The results of the study seem to indicate

that, at least in India, the problems of overcoming cultural differences, communications barriers, or even nationalistic sensitivities are less difficult for American advisers than the frustrations engendered by the administrative procedures of American technical assistance and Indian bureaucracy. The adviser generally found his most important channel for transferring "know-how" to be in the state secretariat rather than at the "grass roots" originally envisioned by Point Four planners. The formal status of the American adviser with the Indian state government seemed less important than the working relationship which was involved; of greatest value was a rapid assessment of the local situation and personalities and the ability of the technician to adjust quickly. Uncertainty about the adviser's proper position and function was characteristic but it also gave him an advantage—freedom to move outside the normal administrative channels, acting as observer, reporter, expeditor, and liaison.

Professor Loren F. Tesdell, Temple University, is writing on "Administration of Technical Assistance in Iraq and Jordan." The purpose of his study has been to discover and analyze the crucial administrative problems, at the field level, of United States and United Nations technical assistance programs in these countries. Emphasis has been placed on problems arising from cultural and psychological factors existing in the environment of the host country and in the relations between its officials and the personnel of the aid programs. Problems of selecting and planning projects, recruiting and training local personnel, maintaining effective communication and morale among foreign (non-Arab) personnel, and organizing and operating the projects have been studied. Conclusions are based upon extensive field interviewing of both host and foreign officials and technicians and upon first-hand observation of numerous projects in operation, including those in the fields of agriculture, health, education, public works, community development, and public administration.

The third study in the program is being prepared by Clarence E. Thurber, Ford Foundation, on "Training for Careers in U. S. Economic and Technical Assistance Abroad." The close relationship between adequate

training and the often difficult adjustment of American personnel to new sets of cultural expectations has been repeatedly stressed by observers of technical assistance programs.

Mr. Thurber is examining alternative career patterns that seem to be developing in relation to providing technical assistance abroad and the different types of training that appear to be best fitted for these alternative patterns. He is also looking at the training and orientation programs that have been organized over the past ten years in order to attempt an evaluation of them.

Conferences and exchange of information among the participants in the Stanford research program have made available the findings and observations of each of the participants.

Urban Studies Program, University of North Carolina

An integrated research, training, and regional extension program focused on urban growth and development in North Carolina and the South is being undertaken by the Urban Studies Committee of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina. The research program is concerned with problems posed by a new form of metropolitanism appearing in the South. This new metropolitan pattern is an outgrowth of the rapid urbanization of whole regional groupings of urban centers, constellations of small to medium-size cities located in close spatial proximity to one another—governmentally differentiated but economically, politically, and culturally bound together through a web of regional relationships.

Under the research program, provision is being made for a related series of metropolitan studies in the "Piedmont Industrial Crescent," an area consisting of twenty cities and a number of towns in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. This regional cluster of small cities and towns shows tendencies of merging to form one elongated multicentered metropolitan area. While involving a variety of studies in this laboratory area, the research program also includes provision for comparative studies in older metropolitan areas such as Atlanta.

At the outset of the project a group effort of the whole Urban Studies Committee will concern itself with how community problems arise, how they are dealt with in the "poly-nucleated" metropolitan area in contrast to the traditional metropolitan area, and how they might be dealt with more effectively. The ultimate objective is to understand and be able to evaluate "control systems" in terms of their adequacy for the solution or prevention of certain development problems and their "efficiency" in providing planned direction of metropolitan development.

After this group experience, individual members of the committee will proceed to "sink shafts" into particular research areas according to their interests. Depth research studies are anticipated in the following five general areas: (1) patterns of urbanization in the South, (2) economic bases of urban development, (3) public policies and urban development, (4) city and regional planning and guided physical development, and (5) citizen participation and community organization.

The training aspect of the program is of two kinds—one concerned with training graduate students in urban specialties to meet the growing need for personnel in research and teaching and for professional careers in local government; and another—an activity of the Institute of Government—concerned with providing in-service training for local officials and short courses for local leaders on approaches to problems of metropolitan development. The regional extension aspect of the program is directed toward the development of urban research resources in other colleges and universities of the South and the stimulation of cooperative arrangements in research studies among two or more of these institutions.

This expanded and stepped-up program of urban studies, financed with a Ford Foundation grant, is under the general surveillance of the Urban Studies Committee and is expected to run for about five years. Responsibility for the organization and conduct of the program is vested in the research director, F. S. Chapin Jr., specialist in city planning, assisted by an associate research director, Shirley Weiss. Immediate responsibility for project studies rests on faculty members of the committee assisted by research fellows and graduate assistants.

The regional extension project is being directed by Frederick N. Cleaveland, public administration. George H. Esser, Jr., of the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina, is heading the in-service training program for local officials and civic leaders. The Urban Studies Committee is a faculty and institute committee which includes, in addition to Professors Chapin, Cleaveland, and Esser, Robert E. Agger, political behavior; John Gulick, anthropology; Floyd Hunter, community structure; John D. Kelton, psychology; E. William Noland, industrial sociology; John A. Parker, city and regional planning; William N. Parker, economic history; Ralph W. Pfouts, econometrics.

Public Personnel Research Survey

With encouragement from the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, and the Stern Family Fund a group of government, university, and private officials have met in recent months to consider current problems in the field of public personnel administration. One outgrowth of these meetings has been the launching of a public personnel research survey by the Public Personnel Association of Chicago, under the direction of Cecil Goode, who has established an office for the survey's duration at 1329-18th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

The purposes of the survey are to focus attention of public personnel organizations on the need for reappraising their policies and methods in the light of research findings; to determine where needed research can best be performed; to encourage needed research; and to provide a basis for coordinating personnel research and the findings from such research.

The project first will undertake to identify, describe, and evaluate resources actually or potentially available for public personnel research. It will also inventory and evaluate ongoing and planned personnel research projects and will seek to determine whether gaps in subject-matter fields exist.

Personnel research, for purposes of the survey, is defined as all activities conducted for the improvement of worker productivity or service. Public personnel research includes work conducted primarily for application in

the public service. The major areas of interest are: (1) research bearing on the environment or organizational setting of the public service; (2) research activities to improve leadership and supervision; (3) research studies of the nature of human behavior in the job or occupational setting; (4) promising research studies of the nature of work and occupations; and (5) promising research on the policies and practices of personnel management.

The techniques to be used are a questionnaire of governmental organizations, research organizations, schools of public and business administration, associations, foundations, and private companies. In addition, field interviews will be conducted at selected locations throughout the country.

The survey will include the most significant research that has been completed since 1950; research now actively in progress; and research in the planning stage which will be activated by 1960.

Leadership and Decision-Making in Metropolitan Areas

The structure of local leadership and its relation to decision-making on important community issues is being studied in a number of major metropolitan areas under a project administered by the Governmental Affairs Institute. Three forces affecting metropolitan problem solving have been selected for primary attention: formal and informal leadership; the institutional bases of urban and metropolitan leadership; and citizen loyalties, identifications, and attitudes. These forces will be studied within the focus of such specific metropolitan problems as transit and air pollution.

Rejecting the assumption of a general-purpose elite for leadership groups, leadership is being studied in terms of specific roles related to specific community actions on metropolitan problems. The institutional basis of urban leadership is also being examined through a "problem focus." Individual leadership on problems, it is felt, may or may not coexist with an institutional base of the kind needed for sustained action.

Similarly, within the context of specific community problems and actions, and with relation to the institutions providing the basis for

leadership, the third aspect—the citizen or "followership" level—is being analyzed.

By uncovering some important characteristics of socio-political action in large areas—through exploring "who does what" and from what institutional bases—the project is expected to contribute to the ability of large metropolitan areas to solve their problems in a democratic way.

One hypothesis which will be critically examined in the course of the project is the "assumption that there is a complex of metropolitan problems that have sufficiently common geographic limits to be dealt with by a single unit of government and that this complex of problems can develop and sustain a self-governing political community." It is felt that investigation of various "metropolitan problems" may show that they differ significantly with respect to the geographic area within which they can be solved and the population and leadership that are relevant to them. Consequently, there is no assumption in advance that a new multipurpose self-governing unit of government dealing with these problems would be feasible.

The metropolitan problem is seen as having a twofold dimension: on the one hand, it is concerned with areas comprising sufficient resources and legal power to solve problems considered in their physical and technical aspect; on the other, there is the demand that these solutions be compatible with solutions that will strengthen local self-government. A solution that might work well technically but that would be incompatible with local self-government would meet only one of the requisites. Research will explore whether and to what degree the two values conflict and to what extent either value may be subordinated to the other.

The project, financed by a grant from the Stern Family Foundation and administered by the Governmental Affairs Institute, is under the general direction of Dr. Luther Gulick. Professor Norton Long, on leave from the Michigan State University, is coordinating the work in various cities: Professor Frederick Cleaveland in Atlanta, Professor Maurice Klain in Cleveland, Professors Victor Jones and George Belknap in the San Francisco Bay Area, Professor Edward Banfield in Chicago,

Professor Robert Dahl in New Haven, and Professors Long and Charles R. Cherington in Boston. Other cooperative projects in other cities are being planned. Further information on the project may be obtained from Mr. Long at the Department of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Federally-financed Extramural Public Administration Research

An inventory of federally-financed extramural research in public administration has recently been completed through collaboration between the Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Maryland, and the Washington, D. C. Chapter, American Society for Public Administration.

The inventory was based on the premise that federal agencies finance extramural research to contribute to the more effective administration of their programs in substantive fields such as defense, health, economic assistance, and civil defense—not as public administration, *per se*. A research project on the organization of a mental hospital, for instance, is financed because of an agency's program interest in mental health rather than a technical interest in organization. In the inventory, however, such a project was viewed from the

perspective of public administration and classified as research on "organization."

Each of the federal agencies financing extramural research of interest to public administration was asked to cooperate in furnishing data for the inventory. Following personal interviews with the research program administrators, project listings were made available. After the projects were classified in terms of areas of interest to public administration, each agency was afforded a formal opportunity to review the data intended for publication.

The inventory, which will be published shortly by ASPA, indicated that federal agencies now support a wide range of extramural research of interest to the public administration profession, although no agency finances a research program labeled "public administration" in the United States. Sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists, economists, mathematicians, and others—rather than political scientists or public administrators—carry out the preponderance of this research.

Over-all guidance for the study was provided by Herbert H. Rosenberg, Director, Research Projects, D. C. Chapter. Mr. Lynn Wilkes, Bureau of Governmental Research, performed the primary task of collecting and classifying the data.

Contemporary Topics

Compiled by WILLIAM B. SHORE

Staff Officer

American Society for Public Administration

Education for Public Administration: What is Needed?

The Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania, in cooperation with ASPA and the International City Managers' Association, has completed three workshops exploring education and training needs for "policy-making" administrators.

The first two workshops brought together practicing administrators of local and state government with a few educators. The third, held in June, 1957, presented for discussion by educators in the field (a) a summary of the conclusions of the administrators on skills they feel they need and (b) papers on major questions of educating public administrators.

A summary of all three workshops will be published by the institute in 1958.

Administrators identified areas of needed knowledge as:

1. Political, social, and economic environment.
2. The administrative process: decision-making, programing, communications, controlling, re-appraising.
3. Human relations.
4. General technical processes including finance, statistics, research methods, accounting, written and oral communication, labor relations, logic, administrative planning.
5. Governmental services.

Needed skills agreed upon were:

1. Identifying and analyzing problems (decision-making).

2. Analyzing situations: organization, subordinates, political atmosphere.

3. Analyzing operations, including positions, financial documents, and statistical evidence, distilling and categorizing ideas and facts from masses of written material, fitting day-to-day decisions into long-range policies.

4. Securing favorable response from people through oral and written presentation.

5. Delegation and review.

6. Negotiation and conference.

Administrators felt that career development required in-service as well as pre-service training and education. Many stressed the value of case study analysis and internships to acquire such knowledge as human relations that demands some experience (if only vicarious) as well as information.

Following are selected points from the background papers for the third workshop, and a few comments made in the discussion.

Pre-Service Curriculums

Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse University; Wallace S. Sayre, Columbia University; George S. Blair, Institute of Local and State Government:

Since most generalist administrators will necessarily enter public service as administrative specialists (budget or personnel officers, for example), pre-service education must keep in mind preparation for both generalists and specialists.

Graduate education for public administra-

tion offered in political science departments is likely to be entirely broad; that offered in a special department, school, or institute of public administration is likely to be a combination of broad and specialized.

While it is generally accepted that undergraduate education should be broad liberal education, a core of valuable undergraduate courses includes political science, economics, American history, public administration, statistics, English, composition, and accounting.

A core program for graduate training should include (1) the environment of public administration, including external limitations, controls, and pressures; (2) organization theory and management concepts; (3) public finance and budgeting; (4) personnel management; and (5) research and communication laboratory, combining training in communication and in research.

Other courses recommended: administrative law, political theory, public planning, public policy development, political parties and interest groups, the American constitutional system, urban sociology, cultural anthropology, economic systems and theories. For persons who will start as generalist administrators, for example as managers of small towns, the study of governmental policy and services would be useful, surveying functional areas of local government such as welfare, streets, and health.

In the discussion, the importance of seeing public administration as one of the major political processes and of emphasizing popular control of administration was asserted. The fact that techniques of public administration are very obsolescent was also noted.

Teaching Methods

Joseph E. McLean, New Jersey Commissioner of Conservation and Economic Development, on leave from Princeton University; Frederick T. Bent, ILSG:

Teaching should begin with the concrete and move to the abstract.

We have no verification of the relative success of the different methods of teaching public administration (and little verification of the relative value of teaching methods in any field). Teaching methods must vary with the skill of the teacher and the size and subject matter of the class.

Nevertheless, it can be said that the lecture and modified lecture (with some discussion) probably is useful in presenting subject matter.

Role-playing might provide experience in situational analysis, impress students with the practical difficulties of securing favorable response from those they must work with, and allow practice in such techniques as reporting and public relations. The difficulties of short role-playing sessions—that they tend to be too artificial to be useful and too short run to give a sense of the ongoingness of administration—may be overcome with role-playing throughout a course, with the class simulating an administrative organization with set goals.

The case method is probably the most controversial of teaching techniques in the field. It can be used to supplement all the other methods; it starts with the concrete, frees students from misconceptions, and approximates the many details and complexities of reality. Even so, the cases cannot incorporate all of the complexity or details of administration or large amounts of economic and social knowledge, nor do they require the student to decide what information he needs for analysis, which is a major element in decision-making. Cases can, however, give students an understanding of the social and political environment and an awareness of interrelationships and informal organizations.

In the discussion, the importance of tying the concreteness of the cases to a theoretical background was brought out. Teaching methods, one remarked, must be adjusted to the teacher resources as well as to optimum techniques from the student's point of view.

Field Experience

York Willbern, University of Alabama; Thomas J. Davy, ILSG:

The majority of schools do not include field experience in public administration programs, nor do government units generally realize its importance. It should be an integral part of every graduate program. It should be planned and supervised jointly by the school and the administrative sponsor. Perhaps internship arrangements separate from graduate programs will preclude the need for field work as a part of university training, but it is doubtful, de-

spite the many excellent internship programs in existence. Field work can and should be of mutual benefit to the student and the administrative sponsor, who must closely supervise and evaluate the student.

A variety of experiences is important—if possible a shift from a local to a state or from a large to a small jurisdiction, or from staff to line departments. Continual analysis of the field experience, preferably at regular intervals during the experience itself, assists the student in relating theory to practice and day-to-day decisions to broader goals. Reports of the field experience become useful case material for the classroom.

The thesis requirement probably should be replaced by research and writing more valuable for the future administrator.

In the discussion, there was some skepticism that field experience was worth the effort, because many universities are not equipped to supervise it, few agencies provide good supervision, and the lengthening of the training period involves greater difficulty for the student and more of a "crown prince" concept of administrative training.

The contention that internships water down academic standards is not borne out by other professional fields—medicine, law, engineering—where they are used, it was noted.

There was considerable disagreement over the relative value of the thesis, but no conclusions. It has value, one asserted, if seen as the final test of a student's ability to synthesize and of his independence of judgment.

Equipping the Functional Specialist for Generalist Responsibility

John W. Lederle, University of Michigan; James G. Coke, ILSG:

In spite of the advocates for the generalists, and the progress of the generalist concept in a few fields, such as city management, tomorrow's managerial class is still likely to contain a high proportion of today's specialists." The vocational emphasis of education and the limited opportunity for generalists due to many public personnel practices contribute to the importance of the specialist in government. Equipping the specialist for general administration is more pressing than ever be-

cause management is less concerned with techniques.

The specialist brings the advantage of knowing the subject he is dealing with, he is more easily accepted by the specialists in the organization, and he understands them and the organization. The other side of the coin is the likelihood that he thinks in technical terms, making communication with other specialists difficult and thus impeding needed synthesis. He often confuses value judgments and technical judgments. His strong identification with his specialized profession may make it difficult to balance his program with others and to resolve conflicts between his profession and the public interest difficult.

Little motivation for administrative training is likely during professional training; it generally results from in-service experience. The separate location of professional schools in universities and the emphases in their course work are not conducive to providing education for administration simultaneously with professional course work. Nevertheless, all professional schools should offer their students formal instruction in public administration, primarily to foster an understanding of the role of government, government process, and environment, particularly its political character. Beyond this, course work should aim at broadening the specific outlook of the various specialties. More research is needed to identify the characteristics of each specialty so generalist training can correspond to the need. Public administration courses should be cooperatively offered by schools of administration and the professional specialist schools, not solely by the latter.

Developing capable generalists must be fostered by governments through easy transfers among units, broadening career ladders, promotion of persons with generalist capacities, in-service training, and internship programs for specialists as well as generalists.

Respective Roles of Universities and Government

Henry Reining, Jr., University of Southern California; William C. Beyer and Thomas J. Davy, ILSG:

Now that university recruitment is nationwide, administrators should help universities

select students by interviewing candidates in their cities and evaluating them for a distant university. Administrators should take part in university course work by giving special lectures, cooperating in student research, and conducting field trips and demonstrations for students.

Faculty should have service as government administrators or consultants to government units. It is difficult for a teacher to communicate "the subtle intangibles in the attitudes and sensitivities . . . of the administrative policy-making positions without having experienced them himself. . . ."

University cooperation with the continuing career development of administrators should include: (1) promoting broad-gauged career development programs and advising on them; (2) assisting in counseling personnel on career development; and (3) participating in in-service training provided by the government and providing full-time and part-time programs at the university. The public administration faculty can assist in setting up in-service training, but probably should not conduct the programs. With limited teaching resources, priority should be given to working with the higher administrative levels.

This type of assistance to government requires continuing closer relationships with governmental employers and special faculty competence, combining skills of the teacher, writer, and consultant rather than of the scholar-teacher. This argues for a special unit for such activities, such as a bureau of public administration. All public administration programs should have a research or service unit, or, at the least, all faculty members should have some research and service responsibilities.

Public administration faculties should take responsibility for coordination of preparation for public administration in high schools and junior and state colleges, being concerned with developing teachers for all these institutions as well as practitioners.

Public administration should be a separately organized element either in a social science department or connected with a political science curriculum.

Congressional Committees Study Federal Personnel Policies

The Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service recently received a report from James R. Watson, executive director of the National Civil Service League, whom they had engaged as a consultant, and another from its own staff. The two reports generally agreed in criticizing federal appeals procedure; lack of a dynamic personnel and particularly an executive development program; and the combining of the role of Civil Service Commission chairman with the role of personnel adviser to the President. (*Administration of the Civil Service System*, 85th Congress, 1st Session, Committee Print No. 21.)

A short time before, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service held hearings on federal personnel problems as observed by agency personnel officers in California. While there is no great disagreement, the difference in emphasis is of interest. (*Personnel Management Problems*, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Post Office and Postal Operations, 84th Congress, 2d Session)

At the same time as the Senate report was advocating a more dynamic career development program, an Executive order which would establish a Career Executive Board under the Civil Service Commission was being cleared with federal agencies. Composed of outstanding experienced civil servants, it would develop a full proposal for a career executive program within the present civil service system.

The Senate Committee Report

Better selection, evaluation, and management training programs as part of a clear-cut career service were a primary recommendation of Mr. Watson and the Senate committee staff. The committee was particularly critical of the negative approach of the commission.

The committee noted its disapproval of the proposed Senior Civil Service Corps, apparently because the plan seemed to give favored status to a small group and might preclude selection of equally capable persons. Mr. Watson called for attaching the grade to the man rather than the job in Grades 15-18 for pro-

fessional and scientific as well as management personnel. This, he noted, would facilitate transfer among agencies.

Administrative Training

Although the percentage of college-trained persons in Grades 15-18 is very high—almost all have had college training and the large majority have one degree, according to recent surveys—60 per cent have had no political science courses and 67 per cent have had no training in public or business administration, Mr. Watson observed. Both he and the committee staff called for a clear-cut policy on training. Mr. Watson noted the large number of good training programs provided outside of the government, programs frequently better and less costly than those the government could provide. He also praised the Civil Service Commission for some training achievements. (Note: A bill to broaden training powers of federal agencies was killed in the current session of Congress.)

Selection for training and development must be better planned, the committee staff and consultant agreed. Mr. Watson emphasized that selection must remain with the agency and a competitive promotion system among agencies should be avoided. The staff added that even though too much of the promotion and training of supervisors is left to chance, the quality of supervision at all levels is surprisingly good.

Politics and the Career Service

Mr. Watson strongly criticized the Willis plan, initiated in 1954 and never rescinded, for political clearance of GS-14 to 18 positions. The President's appointment of the Civil Service Commission chairman as his personnel adviser further confused the career civil service with politics. Mr. Watson called for a commission completely divorced from the operating personnel program, a watchdog agency concerned mainly with appeals but making some policy rules for the merit system. An office of personnel management, on a par with and with responsibilities parallel to the Budget Bureau, would head the federal personnel program, providing leadership, research on personnel needs, and consultation

for agencies more than control. A further purpose would be liaison between the career service and political executives. The committee staff recommended expanded rather than more limited operating responsibilities for the commission, with appeals handled by a separate agency. The staff agreed that the commission should be separated completely from politics including the role of advising the President.

Classification

Position classification is too rigid, not complete enough, and not current, Mr. Watson said. Morale is constantly threatened by reclassification to a lower grade and many persons have left the government because of this and other classification faults. Poor staff and rapid turnover are partial causes of the weakness of the classification system, but in general management considerations must play a more important part in classification.

Salaries

While turnover is low among high-level career people, some capable and devoted public servants are lost to private industry because government salaries comparatively are very much lower, Mr. Watson reported. Although a survey has not been made, it appears that turnover in the GS-9 to 14 levels is fairly high. The reason may be low executive salaries, offering little incentive for advancement, rather than low salaries at these middle grades. The committee staff did not mention salaries.

Appeals Procedure

Both the consultant and the committee staff advocated extending full appeals rights to all career personnel, not just to veterans, with a single procedure for all types of appeals.

Mr. Watson, though acknowledging the problem to management of allowing an outside body to enforce reinstatement, felt it was an essential protection for the employee. Panels of citizens should be established in each civil service region, from which three-man boards chaired by a commission examiner could be selected to hear appeals. Appeal to the commission should generally be on the record without oral hearing. Codification of

rules and decisions is urgently needed. Speed in appeal should be a major concern.

"Appeals cases should provide a principal source of information regarding supervisory and management problems within an agency," he added.

Other Staff Recommendations

The committee staff also called for (1) clarifying, simplifying, and consolidating personnel laws, Executive orders, and the *Federal Personnel Manual* so that management can easily understand and follow the rules without having to rely totally on personnel technicians; (2) positive recruitment for hard-to-fill positions before vacancies occur; (3) minimum qualifications for Schedule C (exempt policymaking) positions; and (4) the right of employee organizations to participate more fully in the development of personnel programs.

House Subcommittee Hearings on Recruitment and Salaries

In November, 1956, a House subcommittee heard problems of federal agency personnel officers in California. Some salient comments are quoted:

Salary Problems

"Real cause for alarm is found in the fact that the number of technical personnel either attracted or retained in the middle grades, GS-9, GS-11, and GS-12, is diminishing. The same situation prevails with respect to subprofessional, administrative, and fiscal positions." Norman J. Newcomb, Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California.

". . . Recent surveys have been made of applicants for junior scientist and engineer positions who subsequently declined Federal employment. . . . Reported salaries reflected an average entrance rate of \$810 per year above the top step of GS-5. . . . Surveys of scientists and engineers who have left Federal employment show an average increase in salary paid by industry of about \$1,400 per year. At the GS-12 through GS-14 levels the average difference is more nearly \$2,000 per year, while at GS-15 the average difference is in excess of \$4,000 per year. . . . Important also is the Federal Government's inability to attract and

retain high caliber personnel for administrative management positions. A private survey conducted by the management consulting firm of Booz, Allen & Hamilton reflects that the average graduate with a bachelors degree in business administration is offered an entrance salary by industry which is \$718 per year in excess of the first step of GS-5. The average student with a masters degree in business administration is offered an entrance salary by industry which is \$983 per year in excess of the first step of GS-7." G. F. Weaver, 12th United States Naval District, San Francisco.

". . . I truly believe that if we were anywhere near the competitive salary range (I don't believe we have to exactly match it) then we would be able to encourage competent professional men to come into Federal civil service. . . ." L. R. Becht, Naval Air Station, North Island.

A number of personnel officers testifying and congressmen conducting the hearings advocated expansion to white-collar jobs of the wage-board pay system used for blue-collar federal workers. Wage-board pay is adjusted to prevailing rates for similar work in the same locality.

Recruitment

". . . The United States Naval Ordnance Test Station recruited 125 junior scientists and engineers this year, possibly more than any single Federal activity. . . .

"For recruiting purposes, we select our top professional personnel, diverting them from technical responsibilities. We know of no other way under present recruiting conditions to accomplish the job.

"We approach students who respond to unusual challenge, who look for the privilege of working with outstanding technical associates, who like some degree of freedom in choosing and working on research and development projects, who regard service to the Nation as an important motivating factor, who appreciate the excellent technical facilities the Government can provide, who respond to the opportunities for personal development and professional growth offered through our training program. . . . The tragedy is that so many of them are lost when they need not be lost. The Government has become, in effect,

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW

an outstanding recruiting and training resource for industry."

"... The examining program of the Civil Service Commission has reached the point where it can be effective only if further decentralized to operating agencies . . . the agencies themselves are performing most of the effective recruiting for positions in the Federal service today. . . .

"There is a general agreement that where decentralization of recruitment and examining authority has been made to agencies, there has been marked improvement in shortening time lags between application for a position and appointment. For example, the board of examiners for scientists and engineers, in Pasadena, offers 'on the spot' commitments to graduating junior scientists and engineers which enables campus recruiters to compete successfully with industrial counterparts. . . . Because . . . agency or activity operating personnel comprise the policy boards which direct the carrying out of the decentralized recruitment and examining program, operating pressures reflect in reduced time spans necessary to appoint, by constantly scrutinizing every facet of the employment procedure to determine whether it is necessary; thereby producing a more economical and expeditious system with the important byproduct of a more favorable attitude toward the Federal Government on the part of applicants. . . . For example, positions in many professional shortage categories are filled within a period of 3 weeks to 3 months. . . ." Mr. Newcomb.

"... A year ago in August, we went all out in a recruitment campaign. All we did was increase the number of people who filed but not the number who passed the examination. . . ." C. Mansel Keene, former deputy regional director, Los Angeles Branch Office, 12th U. S. Civil Service Region.

Federal Personnel Management

"... It is axiomatic that personnel authorities to hire, fire, discipline employees and classify positions, must be authorized at the lowest possible operating level . . . most of the major agencies have decentralized personnel authority to the local level. However, . . . in some cases all personnel actions require central office or regional office approval. There

are, of course, some instances of partial authority which in many ways is worse than none. . . . In addition to agency decentralization, there is the need for decentralization from the Civil Service Commission to the operating agencies. . . . Generally speaking, wherever it is possible to do so within legal limitations, these decentralizations of authority have been made.

"For many years, the Federal service has operated on the 'specialist' theory . . . a specialist handled each field of personnel and the operating officials found it necessary to discuss their problems with two, three, or four personnel technicians. . . . As a result of increased decentralization . . . the 'generalist' approach . . . [began to appear]. This permits a closer liaison between the operating elements and the personnel office, and familiarizes one technician with all personnel aspects of an organizational entity. It is generally conceded that this approach is valuable and provides for better personnel services.

"Its one prime difficulty is that recruitment of qualified people is extremely difficult, if not impossible. It is usually necessary to employ someone trained in one or two fields of personnel and provide the other necessary training. This approach, too, has led to a better professional caliber of personnel employees. . . ." Paul F. Munsie, Veterans Administration Regional Office, Los Angeles.

"... Generally speaking the big problem in decentralization is the need for regulations and standards that can be uniformly applied throughout the country. . . . A greater degree of decentralization would be possible only if these rules and regulations could be codified and simplified. A further need would be simpler standards and specifications. . . .

"Many of us have seen a very significant change in our relationship with the Civil Service Commission. We can remember when the CSC seemed to conceive of its job as first, last, and always the watchdog of the merit system. Their preoccupation with this responsibility left the government without official organized leadership in the more positive phases of personnel management. . . .

"... the CSC no longer limits its interest to negative matters . . . they [have] accepted more responsibility at the top Government

level for backing and selling programs of positive and dynamic personnel management." Joseph L. Phillips, Western Area Agricultural Marketing Service, San Francisco.

In-Service Training

". . . Why is it that the same managements who could say as recently as 1950 that their employees required no training now invariably ask in workloading their organizations whether or not provision has been made for training? The answer . . . is that the on-rushing technology of the last few years has created positions which never existed before, brought about frequent changes in equipment and systems and resulted in more complicated equipment and systems than employees, governmental or from industry, have had to work with heretofore. This onrushing technology has added skill shortages to the problem of manpower shortages.

"The same picture prevails in management. Both industry and Government have been critically examining their management concepts in recent years and have in effect discarded many of the systems by which they managed in years past. . . ." Duane A. DuPont, Sacramento Air Material Area, California.

Final Comment—Praise

A final comment on the federal personnel system comes from outside government. John W. Macy, Jr., executive director of the Civil Service Commission, received a Career Service Award of the National Civil Service League this year because "he has built a team which has strengthened and extended the career service, with a new basis for efficiency. . . . His leadership in the important area of career staffing and career development has been outstanding." (64 *Good Government* 24, May-June, 1957)

Collective Bargaining Developments in State and City Government

Government units in Minnesota were ordered by the state legislature to bargain with

certified employee organizations, and union representation elections were authorized for public employees this year, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO reports. The state labor conciliator was given authority to arbitrate jurisdictional disputes among unions.

The Oregon legislature provided a conciliation service for public employee organizations, according to AFSCME, and Indiana's legislature defined the right of public employees to organize and select bargaining representatives.

New York City

The Department of Labor of the City of New York has recommended a seven-point labor relations program for consideration by the mayor, with the expectation that an executive order will establish a new union-government relationship on an experimental basis, followed by an ordinance when experience shows the feasibility of the new arrangement.

The recommendations are based on a three-year study of labor relations in units of government throughout the United States and the legal theories underlying them. A report, summarizing nine monographs growing out of the study and comments made on the monographs at public hearings, was published in June, 1957. (*Report on a Program of Labor Relations for New York City Employees*, 110 pp.)

The fundamental principles of the recommended program are:

1. Employees should be guaranteed the right to join organizations of their choice for collective bargaining without fear of reprisal.
2. There should be genuine collective bargaining with the single majority representative in an appropriate unit, at this time probably a department or agency.
3. The majority representative should be the exclusive bargaining agent for all employees in the unit, except that minority groups may meet with appropriate officials to state views and present requests, but not to negotiate or process grievances. Individuals would retain all rights of self representation under the constitution and laws.
4. An exclusive bargaining agent should enjoy that status, free from challenge, for at least one year.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW

5. Adequate recourse should be available in case of a true impasse.

6. Until a majority choice is designated, the system of plural recognition and multiple representation should continue.

7. Orderly, peaceful, speedy means of determining majority representation must be set up, the particular method to be left to the administrator of the program.

The report observes that when the present city administration took office, city employees did not have rights of organization and representation equal to private employment, ". . . due primarily to the specific exclusion of government personnel from federal and state labor-relations laws. . ." The administration initiated an interim program of labor relations assuring the right to join organizations and setting up grievance machinery in each agency and a citywide labor-management committee on economic and policy matters affecting personnel. It has "gained acceptance and understanding among department heads."

Survey of Government Labor Relations

The city's study of U. S. labor relations in government showed:

1. The prevailing judicial view is that, in the absence of express prohibition, public employees have the same right to organize as other workers.

2. ". . . indiscriminate application of legal and philosophical concepts of the nature of government, the allocation of its authority, and the status of its employees has resulted in the refusal of some governmental units to treat in any significant way with labor organizations. . ." The number of municipalities which afford their employees "any degree of real recognition" is small.

3. Organizations are not qualified to bargain with a public employer if they are communist or fascist, restrict membership on such bases as race or religion, or are essentially devoted to objectives other than improving conditions of work (e.g. religious and fraternal groups).

4. By far the largest number of governmental units that deal with labor organizations grant exclusive bargaining rights to the majority union, but individuals generally are permitted to handle their own grievances and to

benefit from agreements reached by the majority union even if they are not members.

5. Elections and tallying of check-off authorizations (deduction of union dues by the employer) are the most common means of determining majority representation.

6. Government rules concerning supervisors' organizations is highly diverse, some allowing them to bargain as members of the general labor organization, some dealing separately with them, some prohibiting their organization.

7. Subjects open to collective bargaining and the conclusiveness of its results vary to extremes, some units signing written agreements covering broad conditions.

8. In view of the multiple locations of authority in many units of government, some have worked out joint bargaining with all agencies having independent authority.

9. ". . . while the uniqueness of government . . . may well call for a different practical system of collective bargaining, . . . it does not make impossible the institution of any system of collective bargaining. . . ."

Six techniques of resolving impasses are used in government bargaining: conciliation and mediation, fact-finding or investigation, affirmative recommendations, advisory arbitration, binding voluntary arbitration, and compulsory arbitration. The trend is toward advisory arbitration. Although compulsory arbitration seems equitable as a substitute for strikes, it has been criticized in Canada where it has been said to disrupt operations and impede good-faith bargaining. Probably suiting the mechanism to the peculiar circumstances of each dispute is best.

In the open hearings, two of the largest government employee unions criticized legal prohibitions on the right to strike.

State Legislative Action Affecting State and Local Administration

Several state legislatures this year passed laws affecting state and local administration.

Executive Responsibility

Two plural-headed state agencies were replaced by single directors responsible to the

governors: the Kansas Tax Commission and the Maryland Employment Security Board. In both cases an appeal board without administrative responsibility was established; the Kansas board, however, can review tax regulations. In addition, Colorado's State Planning Division was strengthened vis-à-vis the Planning Commission.

On the other hand, Arizona gave policy-making powers to a seven-member board over a new State Parks Department, and Wyoming centralized most of its revenue functions under the multiheaded State Board of Equalization. A Maryland bill which would have eliminated boards of managers for state training schools was defeated.

A strong Department of Finance and Administration was authorized in New Mexico, in place of the state comptroller, the budget director, and the educational budget director, and the state auditor's duties were extended. The earmarking of four revenue sources was also ended.

Colorado consolidated eighteen separate natural resource agencies into a Department of Natural Resources to be headed by an appointee of the governor.

Illinois accepted part of the recommendations of the Morey Commission which investigated the Hodge scandal and studied institutional changes that might prevent similar embezzlement. An auditor general will be appointed by the governor, responsible both to the governor and the legislature, but the elected auditor (Hodge's position) remains, along with an elected treasurer. A new agency will be established to supervise savings and loan associations, previously supervised by the elected auditor.

Maryland adopted the American Bar Association's uniform Administrative Procedures Act which sets out procedures for making and publicizing administrative regulations and for passing on individual conformance to the rules, as well as the powers of the courts to issue declaratory judgments on the validity of agency rules and to review its decisions.

North Dakota initiated a constitutional amendment to increase the term of the governor and other elected officials from two to four years.

Local Government Powers and Organization

More power for local units of government may result from South Dakota's resolution to amend its Constitution to provide municipal home rule. Municipal powers would be limited only by specific constitutional or legislative provisions. Connecticut's legislature passed a home rule law setting out specific broad powers for municipalities. New York authorized county home rule charters outside New York City. Broader planning authority was delegated to the two Maryland counties bordering Washington, D. C.

Greater professionalization of assessing was encouraged by a number of acts. Oregon requires that only appraisers certified by the State Civil Service Commission could assess property. (This legislation passed in 1955 but went into effect in 1957.) South Dakota established county directors of equalization, appointed by the county commissioners, who replaced township assessors in some instances. West Virginia authorized more state technical assistance for local assessors, and Utah required that all assessors must attend an annual school. Colorado's legislature appropriated money for a study of assessment practices. Utah ordered closer state supervision of all local finances.

Metropolitan Area Administration

Metropolitan areas also received attention. New York appointed a commission to recommend solutions to metropolitan government problems by March 31, 1958. Utah narrowly missed approving by two-thirds vote a resolution initiating a constitutional amendment which would have allowed a single governmental unit for metropolitan areas, particularly applicable to Salt Lake City.

The Utah legislature allowed counties to provide special local charges for services provided to parts of the county that are not needed in the whole county or that are provided by municipalities within their own boundaries. The main purpose was to preclude dual payment by city-dwellers for services, once to the city for municipal services and again to the county to provide similar services for residents outside the city.

A metropolitan planning commission for

the 150 local units of government covering a five-county area around Minneapolis and St. Paul was authorized by the Minnesota legislature.

The Illinois legislature transferred all relief administration from Chicago to Cook County for what appeared to be political, at least as much as administrative, reasons.

Cooperative arrangements among local governments to share services were allowed by the Alaska, Utah, Washington, and New York legislatures.

Court Administration

Illinois will vote in 1958 on a major court reform proposal approved by the legislature. A unified court system, administratively under the Supreme Court, would eliminate jurisdictional questions. Justices would be elected by districts for nine-year terms. All other courts would be part of the circuit court system under the Supreme Court. Judges could be transferred from one district to another to relieve congestion, with the agreement of the chief judge of the congested district.

Legislative Studies of State Administration

Legislative committees this year have been assigned interim research projects in a number of fields of particular interest to administrators. This list is selected from Council of State Governments, *Legislative Research Checklist Number 32*, May, 1957:

Ethics, Conflict of Interest: New Jersey.

General State Administration: New Jersey, North Dakota, Utah.

Reorganization of Particular State Functions:

Tennessee (motor vehicles, consolidating all state services and controls related to), Utah (state boards and commissions).

County Government Organization: Arkansas.

Court Organization and Districting: Tennessee, Washington, Arkansas, and Colorado and Ohio (justice of the peace courts only).

Proper Expenditure of Appropriations: Washington, Utah.

Personnel Classification: New Jersey.

Retirement Systems for Public Employees:

Colorado (state), Tennessee (local police).

Public Liability: Tennessee (comparing Board

of Claims operation with procedures and organization in other states); Utah (effective consideration and settlement of special claims).

Merit Rating (teachers): Utah.

State Insurance Practices: Arkansas, North Dakota.

Administration of Licensing: Colorado.

Municipal Finance Reporting: Colorado.

State Printing Operations: Washington.

Office Space Needs: New Jersey, North Dakota.

Records: Georgia (construction of a building for storing state and county records).

Municipal Salaries: Indiana.

Investment of State Funds: Colorado.

Special State Funds: North Dakota.

Encroachment on Private Enterprise in Food Preparation in State Institutions: Tennessee.

Establishing a State Construction Commission: Arkansas.

Taxes, Equitable Distribution between State and Local Governments: Utah.

Recently published are reports of interim studies by legislative committees on:

Court Organization and Administration: New York, Vermont.

Municipal Finance Reporting: Colorado.

Municipal Government Costs (factors associated with variations in municipal expenditure levels): California.

Building Construction Commissions (laws of selected states related to): Arkansas.

Civil Service Law: New York.

Sick Leave (payments for unused): Massachusetts.

Public Health Administration: Minnesota.

Public Welfare Administration: Ohio, Oregon, Public Works and Highway Administration: North Carolina and Illinois (local only).

Records (preservation and volume control): California.

Retirement and Disability Systems: California, Minnesota, Tennessee, Wisconsin, and New Mexico (teachers).

Salaries (county): Indiana, Kansas.

Reorganization: Iowa, North Carolina.

Tax Administration: Arkansas, Oregon.

Most reports are available from the respective legislatures; all may be borrowed from the

Legislative Research Checklist Library, Council of State Governments, 1313 East 60th, Chicago 37, Illinois.

New Budget Staff for Missouri Approved and Hired

The request of Governor James T. Blair, Jr. for a budget staff to help him analyze the half-billion dollar budget with which he was presented (Spring, 1957, *Review*, p. 142) was quickly approved by the legislature and the staff has been hired.

The eight staff members have varied backgrounds. Director Newton Atterbury has been state comptroller for five years and will add budget responsibility to accounting direction. Before entering state employment, he worked for two large industrial firms and for smaller businesses.

Three of the four senior budget analysts have higher degrees—two the doctorate in political science and one a master's degree in government management. All have experience in governmental research, two at universities and one with the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey.

Two intermediate analysts come from other state government positions, a third from private industry. One has a master's degree in public administration; a second took General Motors management training courses.

Price, Waterhouse and Company was employed to do the initial studies, including the establishment of uniform budget and accounts classifications.

Reorganization of the Army General Staff, a Year After

"The rearrangement of the General Staff in 1956 was in the direction of eliminating echelons, of simplifying and clarifying lines of responsibility, and of shaking loose from a hampering shibboleth. After a year's experience, we are quite delighted at how well it has worked in practice." This is the conclusion of Vice Chief of Staff General W. B. Palmer in an evaluation of the new General Staff system. (12 *Army Information Digest* 2, April, 1957)

Before last year's reorganization, the history of the General Staff and the experience of the

Navy and Air Force with organization for top planning and direction were explored.

The Army General Staff was established in 1903; before that time there was no Armywide planning agency. The organization was firmly molded by General Pershing in 1921 into four sections—G₁ (personnel), G₂ (intelligence), G₃ (plans and operations), and G₄ (supply), a pattern followed for twenty years although, according to General Palmer, it was based on the false assumption that the same four units of staff organization are appropriate for all echelons from a battalion to the War Department.

General George Marshall by-passed the four-part General Staff organization during World War II and, after the war, General Eisenhower temporarily ignored it, adding organization and training and research and development to the top planning staff. But to restore the G₁₋₄ numbering, research and development was placed under logistics "where it certainly did not belong. . . ."

When, in 1950, Congress began appropriating directly to the Army instead of to each service within it, an exception to the four G categories had to be made to establish a comptroller. However, according to General Palmer, his lack of a G number kept his status below that of the other General Staff officers. Gradually, deputy chiefs of staff were created for services which did not fit into the four G categories.

In the current organization, G categories have been eliminated. Research and development and financial control have been raised to the Deputy Chief of Staff level, and the General Staff has frankly become an operating as well as a planning organization, acting in the name of the Chief of Staff.

Administrative Study of Seattle Completed

Stronger lines of authority for the mayor was the main principle underlying proposals made in a management study of Seattle, Washington, by Booz, Allen & Hamilton, completed this spring.

The report was submitted to an Administrative Survey Committee composed of thirteen citizens and five officials. Committee members

had been sitting with the consultants throughout the study.

Three administrative boards—for public works, parks, and civil service—would be replaced by administrators responsible to the mayor, under the plan recommended. The Civil Service Commission would remain as a watchdog and hearing body without administrative powers, and the Park Commission would become entirely advisory.

Three elected officials—the corporation counsel, the comptroller, and the treasurer—should be made appointive by the mayor. Eight officials would report to the mayor under the plan, four directors of line programs—public safety, public works, public utilities, and public health—and four staff aides—city attorney, finance director, city administrative officer, and planning director.

Other important administrative changes proposed would:

1. Combine water and electric utility operations, including meter reading, accounting, commercial, and engineering staffs.
2. Establish a central motor pool for all city vehicles.
3. Merge city and county civil defense.
4. Increase one-man police patrolling.
5. Consolidate building permit and inspection functions now performed in three departments.
6. Set up a public information office.

The consultants also suggested that the city study the feasibility of integrating police and fire operations. If carried out, Seattle would become the largest city in the country with an integrated public safety force.

The study cost \$100,000; the firm estimated that potential savings of nearly \$3 million per year would result from adoption of its recommendations, or about 3.5 per cent of Seattle's annual budget.

What Determines How Much a Municipality Spends

The wealthier the city, the higher its municipal budget seems to be, a study of 196 California cities of over 2,500 population, made by the University of California (Berkeley) Bureau of Public Administration, indicates. (*Factors*

Associated with Variations in Municipal Expenditure Levels; A Statistical Study of California Cities, by Stanley Scott and Edward L. Feder. 52 pp. mimeographed. \$1.50)

Per capita property value showed the closest correlation with per capita municipal expenditure. Retail sales showed the next closest correlation.

A formula for predicting costs of municipal government in unincorporated communities can be based on the study's results, the report says.

Group Agreement: Achievement and Enforcement

Studies in reaching and maintaining group agreement (reported by Eugene Emerson Jennings, "Forces that Lead to Group Agreement and Decision," 35 *Personnel Journal* 250, December, 1956) show that (1) groups tend to reach agreement most certainly when led by a trained group leader who participates through guidance but not so dominantly as to interfere with discussion within the group; (2) a decision to follow a particular policy, when reached by a group, is more likely to be upheld in practice by its members than the same policy presented to the group in a lecture; (3) groups are more likely to reach agreement when they feel there is great value to their own ends to do so.

While these studies were made of groups in training classes, conclusions appear applicable to general communications mechanisms such as staff meetings.

Executive Ability, Viewed by the Executive and Subordinates

Executives of large business and government organizations in a Southern city and first-line supervisors of similar organizations generally agreed on the personality traits that distinguished the top men from their subordinates, two sociologists reported following individual interviews with 50 executives and 50 supervisors. (C. H. Coates and R. J. Pellegrin, "Executives and Supervisors," 22 *American Sociological Review* 217, April, 1957)

These persons felt that executives had the following traits in greater degree than had the

supervisors, and that the differences explained their different level in the organization: more energy, alertness, and initiative; aggressive as opposed to submissive attitudes; more understanding of and ability to get along with and manipulate people; greater willingness to assume responsibilities and make decisions; greater ability to deal with and impress superiors; better judgment and foresight; more magnetic, well-rounded, projective personalities; more tact and poise; better problem-solving ability; more adaptability to changing situations; more determination and strength of personal character; different definitions of the meaning of success; greater ability to sell themselves and their ideas and to get things done through group effort; more education and training; different occupational and social contacts and opportunities; and different loyalties and job interests.

The supervisors and the executives also agreed on the price the top people were paying for their positions: poorer health, more worry, lack of recreation time, abnormal family life, loneliness associated with an isolated position, a feeling that hard work leads to harder work, invasions of personal privacy, continuous disruption of personal plans, and constant fear of making the wrong decisions.

The great majority of supervisors said they would *not* like to become executives if they could start their careers over.

Central Recruitment and Training of Hospital Administrators in Great Britain

Great Britain has responded to the observation of a Committee of Inquiry that recruitment and mobility of hospital administrators would be enhanced by centralizing recruitment and training for the nearly 530 local authorities now hiring hospital administrators. The first students entered a three-year centralized training program last fall. (T. E. Chester, "A New Recruitment and Training Scheme for Senior Hospital Administrators," 34 *Public Administration* 425, Winter, 1956)

Local authorities retain some control of recruitment through a National Selection Committee composed of representatives of the local hospital authorities, plus one representative of the Civil Service, all appointed by the Min-

ister of Health and the Secretary of State for Scotland—the members of the Government responsible for public health.

Two established training institutions, Manchester University and the Hospital Administrative Staff College of the King Edward's Hospital Fund, share training responsibilities. They have developed their own programs covering both academic course work and work experience.

Success of Citizen Committees in Education

Local citizen advisory committees have been very successful both as advice-giving and public-relations mechanisms, two studies of advisory committees in school administration indicate. (*Administrator's Notebook*, May, 1957, Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 5835 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois)

One study showed that ten of twelve school superintendents working with lay advisory committees felt their committees were "effective and of much value," whereas the other two felt they were "somewhat effective." In a wider survey, 90 per cent of the persons involved felt their committee had benefited the community.

Of committee members surveyed, 24 per cent thought better of the superintendent after their committee experience than before; only 3 per cent had a lower opinion of him. Similarly, 73 per cent of those whose opinion on school board members changed said they had higher opinions of the board members after committee work.

There was some disagreement between the committee members and administrators on the committee's main role: only 6 per cent of the committee members saw public relations as the main role, 30 per cent of the superintendents did; 80 per cent of the committee members saw the committee's primary value as advice-giving, but only 60 per cent of the superintendents did. This probably indicates that committee members get more satisfaction from feeding information to the administrator than vice versa, whereas many administrators want the committee to win public acceptance rather than to advise.

While two-thirds of those surveyed felt the superintendent and the board of education had dominated the selection of committee projects, the committees judged to be most successful were those in which this did not seem true to participants. The least successful committees did seem to participants to be dominated by the administrator.

Despite the apparent value of advisory committees, 80 per cent of superintendents surveyed said they felt inadequate in handling committee work and suggested more education in the technique. Nearly all agreed that temporary advisory committees on specific subjects should be tried before launching a permanent group with broad purposes.

Chicago Issues Partial Performance Budget

Chicago this year included in its budget unit costs for performing the following services: fire and housing inspection; trimming, spraying, and planting trees; removing dead trees and branches; cleaning sewer lines and catch basins; repairing water meters; cleaning light fixtures. The number of work units to be accomplished during the budget year and the man-hours and average unit costs are estimated. A page of the budget is reproduced in *72 The American City* 162, May, 1957, which also has an article (p. 141) by L. P. Cunningham, manager of Kansas City, Missouri, on the practical limits to municipal performance

budgeting. ("Make Performance Budgeting Practical")

Research Grants Related to Public Administration

The Ford Foundation recently awarded \$325,000 for further development of the Inter-University Case Program in public affairs; \$131,000 to Delaware River Basin Research, Inc. for a study of the governmental organization required to develop the water resources of the Delaware River; and \$2,500 to the Institute of Public Administration for a conference on research in leadership and decision-making in metropolitan areas.

The Social Science Research Council this year awarded grants to J. Leiper Freeman, assistant professor of political science, Vanderbilt University, to study careers of federal administrators in Tennessee; to William Y. Smith, assistant professor of economics, United States Military Academy, to study the National Security Council; and to Harold M. Hyman, associate professor of History, Arizona State College, to study policies and functions of the Army Provost Marshal and resulting problems of civil-military relations, 1774-1920.

George Peabody College for Teachers will study more effective use of available educational manpower and resources in five public school systems in the Nashville, Tennessee, area under a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

Society Perspectives

ASPA: GENERALIST ORGANIZATION IN SPECIALIZED WORLD

This commentary is the first of a series dealing with ASPA in relation to public administration generally.

IN A world of specialization, administration is the process by which particular skills and activities are welded together to serve general purposes. This process has its place in almost all human undertakings but its role is more apparent in larger and more complicated enterprises. In government, administration is a part of every task and especially of those which are executive.

I

WHY restate these basic concepts, so evident to most public administrators? The answer, for the writer at least, lies in their significance for everything administrative. As a common element in man's many endeavors, administration has an identifiable body of practice, knowledge, and philosophy. It is a special field whose ends are general and which exists only in application to relationships among other specialities—as, for instance, in bringing together architect and engineer or personnel man and budget officer.

This intertwining of administration with other activities is reflected in content. Leadership, planning, persuasion, organization, co-ordination, communication, decision-making, and other managerial functions are at the heart of administration. Yet the utility of these functions, crucial to the success of all group effort, is not in themselves but in their contribution to consumable services and goods—to fire protection, highway construction, and air defense, for example.

If administration concerns process more than product, it is not therefore technical, narrow, or purposeless. As with other skills, it involves special procedures—like budgeting, personnel classification, and systems work. But more important are matters of judgment, understanding, and perspective. Here administration looks to the social sciences and to law, engineering, and the humanities for data and values.

Administration varies in detail with environment. Practices which work well in police, with its semi-military bent, may turn out poorly in welfare or commerce. A similar situation may exist as between large organizations and small, or among different jurisdictions. Yet, within the public sphere, the amount of transferable experience is large. Between government and business, with their differences in primary motivation and openness to public scrutiny, transferability is smaller, though still considerable.

Administration bears other earmarks of its integrative nature. It is as much an aspect of line programs as of staff services, with which it was once primarily associated. Flexible patterns of career development in administration—including shifts across jurisdictional and program lines—are supported by the transferability of administrative know-how. Again, since integration often involves competing pressures, political considerations—large and small—are mixed up in administration along with neutral competence.

II

FUNDAMENTALS like these are natural orientation points for public administrators, inside and outside government, in a cooperative

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW

movement for greater understanding, better performance, and wider recognition. Applied to ASPA, as a vital part of this movement, these elemental considerations suggest several lines of development, already reflected in Society policies.

1. *The focus of ASPA, almost by definition, should be on how work gets done in government.* This emphasis on the dynamic, on the flow of events from policy idea to final service, must encompass political process as well as management technique. But the spotlight should shine somewhat more on means—on strategy, tactics, organization, action, practice, procedure—than on philosophical ends or whys and wherefores.

2. *ASPA should be a meeting ground for administrators from all programs, jurisdictions, and organizational levels.* The binding interest, shared with a thousand different special concerns, must be in "how things get done in government." This interest properly attracts, too, those in educational institutions, in private business, and in civic organizations whose work closely involves government.

3. *The conduct and the study of administration should draw cross-fertilization from each other in ASPA.* Here, the practitioner should be exposed to the work of teachers and researchers. Similarly, the scholar should absorb real-life data and nonacademic views on administration from the practitioners.

4. *With its administrative focus, ASPA is complementary to other public affairs interests.* The specialist in health, education, corrections, or labor, for instance, may likewise be an administrator, actual or potential. So may the staff man in personnel, finance, purchasing, or planning. These dual loyalties may be expressed in dual memberships in ASPA and a specialist group.

5. *Administrators should meet in ASPA not only to exchange but also to seek.* This course requires educational and research activities, in cooperation with university and other programs, as well as conferences, newsletters, and informal get-togethers. Experience and knowledge need to be translated into practical services for members and agencies in addition to being talked over and written about as ends in themselves.

6. *ASPA should work for greater public*

recognition of the administrative aspect of government. A positive approach is necessary here—one that stresses administrative accomplishment through publicity, merit awards, and better public service. Little can be gained by self-conscious attempts to answer every attack on governmental administrators.

7. *Much of ASPA's work must be carried out locally, though within the framework of basic national policies.* Administration is pervasive geographically as well as functionally and its workings are often clearest in an intimate setting. Federal, state, and local administrators and their academic and other associates, getting together locally through ASPA, learn much from each other about management—and American federalism.

8. *The public administration movement should strengthen the professional sense of public administrators.* This development calls for a stronger identification with administration as a career, a better articulated code of ethics, a more determined search for administrative standards, and a clearer line of career development. It should not lead to a narrow guild concerned primarily with personal benefits or to an autocratic elite open only to a few.

III

TO MOVE along these lines, ASPA needs a varied program—the parts interrelated but serving different specific goals. The program should be nationwide, operating through the chapters and in cooperation with other groups. The Society has had a program of this kind from the beginning, eighteen years ago, but has been developing it more rapidly since last fall. The major elements in this program now include:

1. *A Quarterly Journal of Analysis and Opinion.* The *Public Administration Review*, guided by a distinguished Editorial Board, is this feature. Its grist includes practice and theory; fact and insight; operation and policy.

2. *A Monthly Newsletter on Public Management.* The *Public Administration News*, enlarged this year, serves this purpose. Its *Management Forum*, a new section, provides practical know-how on administrative techniques.

3. *Meetings of Administrators to Swap Experiences and Ideas.* The chapters provide

local opportunities. National and regional conferences bring wider groups together, using panels, clinics, and speeches.

4. *Intensive Management Training for Governmental Executives.* The Management Institutes, conducted by the Society to supplement other in-service programs in administration, comprise week-long courses of lectures, workshops, and individual counseling. Some chapters also hold shorter "management seminars."

5. *Support for Professional Education in Public Administration.* The Committee on Education and Training expresses this interest. ASPA headquarters serves as a clearing house on public administration education.

6. *Information and Stimulation on Public Administration Research.* A Committee on Research Needs and Resources is being formed to further this work. Locally, chapter study groups sometimes undertake research.

7. *Professional Services for Administrators and Public Agencies.* These activities include the Personnel Exchange, the Public Administration Calendar (listing public affairs meetings), and the Social Sciences Library Service. Society headquarters also answers many public administration inquiries.

8. *Special Publications on Management Practices and Administration.* Digests of several ASPA institutes and conferences, including the 1957 national conference, are in preparation. A Membership Who's Who and one or more "good management" booklets are scheduled for 1958.

9. *Public Information about Governmental Administration.* The *Public Administration Bulletin*, conducted by ASPA with assistance from other groups, provides newspapers, libraries, and civic agencies semimonthly with stories on public management. The chapters contribute through local publicity, especially about merit awards.

10. *Close Relationships with Public Administration in Other Countries.* Such contacts are maintained primarily through the Society's International Section, which is linked to the International Institute of Administrative Sciences. In addition, foreign administrators may become special ASPA members under a subsidy arrangement with the International Cooperation Administration.

IV

TO PUT this program in perspective, a few things should be mentioned about ASPA as an organization. To begin, the program is predicated on a larger membership than ASPA now has, on 15,000 or more instead of the present 5,500. The upward trend of membership in recent months suggests that this is a realizable goal within several years.

The new membership, like the current, will doubtless be made up primarily of career public administrators, on the administrative firing line and in teaching and research. These will be people with a generalist concept of administration, though they may be concerned also with administration in some special context—recreation, agriculture, military, housing, statistics, finance, accounting, or planning, for instance. As government grows, and its career personnel become more conscious of their administrative responsibilities, the attraction of an organized program of self-improvement—alive, practical, and broad in outlook—will increase.

The Society program requires not only more members but also that they play an active part in ASPA affairs. The chapters offer excellent opportunities for such activity, as do the Society committees—including the National Advisory and National Membership Committees, special conference and institute groups, and others already mentioned. This participation reflects itself in policy suggestions to the officers and Council as well as in action projects. In implementing Society policies, the staff provides initiative, coordination, and central service but the total job is done by many members in many capacities.

ASPA can no more "go it alone" externally than internally. A generalist organization in a world of specialties, the Society must work constantly and cooperatively with other groups, especially with educational institutions and public affairs associations, but also with business, political, and public relations organizations and the established professions. In developing its intellectual and ethical roots, too, it must look beyond its own resources to other disciplines. These include not only governmental research and political science, with which close ties are well established, but also

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW

more tangential fields like sociology, psychology, economics, anthropology, history, and literature. The universe of understanding on which the public administrator ideally draws in focusing on particular decisions is infinitely wide.

Financially, the Society must soon come of age. Its long nurturing by the Public Administration Clearing House is over and its current assistance from the Ford Foundation begins a steep decline next year. PACH support to the Society enabled it to develop a broad and healthy philosophy, relatively free from the urgencies of survival and the details of administration. The present Ford Foundation grant is giving the Society a brief opportunity to initiate new activities and bring them to the attention of a wider audience.

This larger program is intended to demonstrate to public administrators that ASPA is useful to them, sufficiently so to be worth what it costs to operate. As administrators, members will recognize that the price of subsidized activities must go up when the subsidy tapers off. Fortunately, with the growth of the Society, this increase need not be large, and some of it can be assessed directly to the users of particular services. The Society's long-range educational and research activities will, it is hoped, from time to time receive special outside support.

With moderate, cost-based fees for institutes, conferences, and special services, the raise in basic dues, scheduled to go into effect in 1958, can be kept minimal. An increase of \$2.00 to \$4.00, to a new over-all total of \$10.00 or \$12.00, will probably provide enough dues revenue to publish regular ASPA periodicals and maintain headquarters services, including membership promotion and cooperative work with the chapters. This revenue will also help

support the continuing costs of educational and research activities and of national and regional conferences, thus justifying lower fees for members than for nonmembers at Society meetings and other events. Related to the whole arrangement, the chapters too must be left with adequate sources of revenue for their activities.

Fortunately, ASPA members give every indication of support for these arrangements. This speaks well for the validity of the Society's philosophy and the benefits of its activities. Any narrower approach would most likely be unsatisfactory all around. With costs of association work as they are, taking every feasible economy, revenue rates lower than contemplated here would—in an unsubsidized Society—require abandonment of much of the ASPA program, most probably including the *Review* and the *News* as well as membership services and chapter relations. Few members, if any, would argue for such a course.

Given the will to put ASPA on its own feet—to accept the responsibilities of organizational maturity—the members of the Society will be shock troops for a challenging adventure extending over a long future. The challenge is no less than that of a leadership role in making democratic government more effective through developing the potentialities of its administrators, the efficiency of its administration, and the wisdom of its programs. To meet this challenge, the Society must grow in its own image—neither heavily managerial nor heavily academic, but combining the best in practice and theory, in operation and research, to act out its own particular destiny. Both government and career public administration will be well served by this balanced course.

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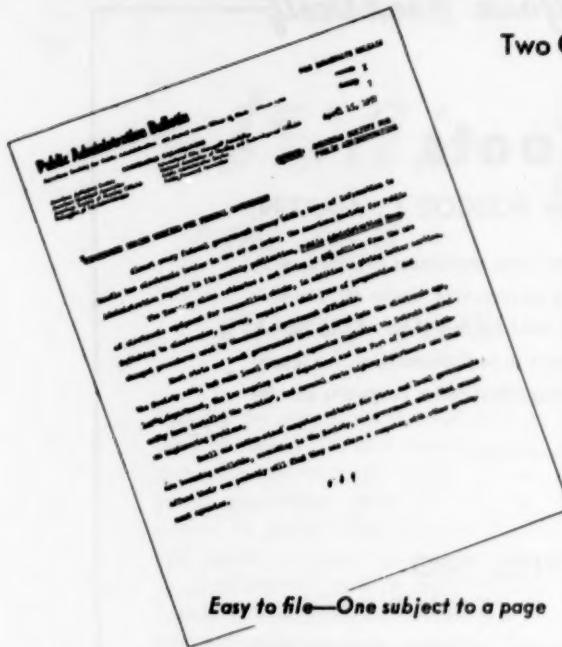
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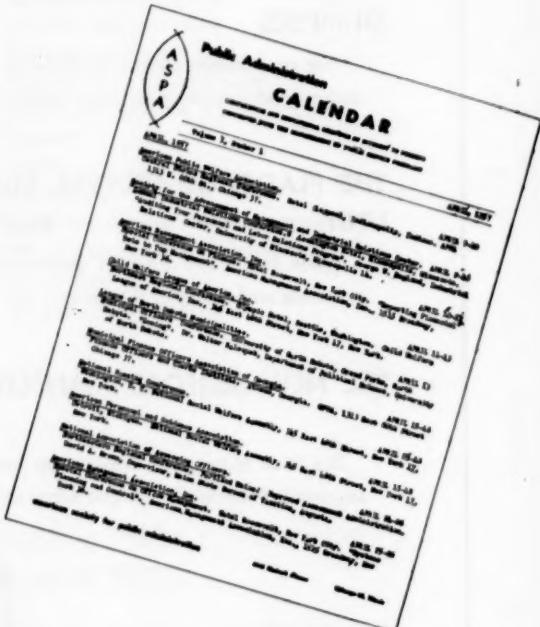
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